

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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News of the Week.

EXIT Derby, and enter Aberdeen. Lord Derby's Administration has taken its formal departure in a manner highly characteristic of its two leading Ministers. In attempting to hold office by the strength of a Protectionist connexion,—in attempting to hold office on the pretext of resisting the democracy, when the democracy is asleep and in no way giving opportunity for resistance,—in endeavouring to accommodate Protectionist and Free-trade expectations, without a *carte blanche*, and with measures subject to revision by inferior and more prejudiced intellects,—Mr. Disraeli had to maintain an impracticable position; he had to maintain it almost alone; and partly by his own fault, partly by force of deficient generosity in his adversaries, he became the object of a dead-set on the part of many Opposition leaders, any one of whom might have been a sufficient adversary. A purist raked up Mr. Disraeli's past political sins—an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has cultivated only one of the many pursuits in which Mr. Disraeli has distinguished himself, and that one not very creditably, used the accidents of technical knowledge and party prejudice to humiliate his greater rival; others stood round to watch for an unguarded action or a stumble, and the Minister felt himself surrounded and struck on every side. On Thursday, he made a fierce retaliatory speech; but in the formal announcement on Monday, he had recovered his self-possession, and gracefully apologizing, he re-established his personal position in the House.

Lord Derby has more and more sought to make his tenure of office a personal affair. It has been stated in print that he personally canvassed for support among the Liberal Members of the House of Commons; and when at last he could hold on no longer, the formal announcement of his resignation was accompanied by a tirade against all and sundry who were not amongst his own followers.

The Derby Ministry is over, and its grand achievement has been to establish the fact, that Protection is impossible, even in the eyes of its own advocates. Mr. Villiers could not have done it half so well. It has also established the fact that Toryism is impossible. Lord Derby, who had expressed a desire to retreat into private dignity, has consented to continue at the head of

his party, and promises to be the leader of a spiteful Opposition.

The week has been occupied by an endeavour to form a new Ministry, with a member of the Peel party at its head, but it has proved more difficult to frame a Ministry of the majority than it was to frame a Ministry of the minority when Lord Palmerston's unexpected assault dashed the Whigs from the seats of office, and allowed Lord Derby to come in without doing any service for the privilege. The reports of the "difficulties" put forth from day to day were not of the most intelligible or trustworthy kind, the whole effect being that the Peelites pertinaciously battled for an undue preponderance in the Ministry, that Lord John Russell consented to accept an office of no political importance, and that the Radicals, or advanced Liberals, were omitted in the scheme of the new Administration. Undoubtedly there were difficulties; the Ministry was not ready for announcement on Thursday; and impatient Liberals became gloomy and foreboding.

Lord Aberdeen is much respected, as a good Englishman, an old ally of the Holy Alliance transmuted to the more modern sympathy with a Gladstone,—a Tory converted almost to a Liberal, and a hearty coadjutor of Peel. Yet every day added to the general want of confidence in his ability to establish a permanent Ministry. How could a Conservative Cabinet grant such an extension of the suffrage as would satisfy public expectation? How refuse the claims of its Puseyite friends, specially to be urged on Mr. Gladstone? How encounter the opposition from Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, backed by the largest of the minorities, and supported only by a combination of smaller minorities, mostly Liberal, and very precarious in their co-operation?

But the announcement in Friday's *Times* has materially modified this view. The probability of a Cabinet comprising all the leading men in the late Opposition, so placed as to be efficient without bringing their crotchets into play,—Lord Palmerston in the Home Office, which means activity; Lord John in the Foreign Office, which ought to mean English independence; Mr. Gladstone in the Exchequer, which cannot mean theological casuistry; and the Duke of Newcastle in the Colonies, which means justice,—raises new hopes, which time must test.

Two meetings of the week exemplify the coming difficulties for any Ministry that should be undecided: the meeting of Lord Derby's

friends, to re-organize his majority; and the meeting of Parliamentary Reform Associations, to develop the organization of a Radical Opposition. The officers of the Association have diligently employed the off season in extending the local machinery about the country, and it is becoming really formidable.

The Ministerial crisis has absorbed almost every attention at home. Abroad, the grand event is the visit of the young Austrian Emperor to Berlin, banquetting, and of course consulting, with the King of Prussia; and thence proceeding to meet the Emperor of Russia at Warsaw. The Holy Allies are re-assembling, and their union bodes mischief for Europe. Louis Napoleon, indeed, is said to be the chief subject of their discussion; but that *cannot* be all. Europe does not yet lie quiet under her oppressions; and there can be little doubt that the great potentates met to consider how the machinery of suppression could be strengthened and extended.

In France, for all his brilliant successes, Louis Napoleon is under a cloud. He has failed in important details. He cannot get his bride. He cannot get recruits among the republican party. He cannot raise the wind; and the impending financial collapse cannot be for ever deferred. Dissidents at home seem to grow bolder, while foreign monarchs conspire against him. But he resorts to the press. An ominous pamphlet, "*Des Limites de l'Empire*," has just appeared under the direct patronage of the authorities, which claims for the boundaries of France the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Alps—annexing Belgium, the Rhine provinces, and Savoy; and the Army will probably follow up the publication, by setting out to recruit the Imperial exchequer with remunerative war. France itself resents taxation; but a few subject provinces might contribute an useful quota. Lombardy, for instance, with only one-eighth of the population of the Austrian Empire, contributes one-fourth of the gross revenue; and being only a subject province, the dislikes of Lombardy are not of much political importance at the capital. How convenient that is!

The Turkish question is becoming more complicated and more urgent. The bank at Constantinople has declined to receive state paper—a rebellion more alarming than that of Montenegro. France is once more avenged for the rejected loan.

From America, President Fillmore has sent us one of the plainest and most important messages

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yet received. The Fishery question, we learn, is still open, with a prospect of friendly settlement. The Cuban question is still open, with a positive refusal from Mr. Fillmore to close it by joining France and England in disclaiming future annexation. The Lobos question is closed, with a handsome acknowledgment of "wrong" done to Peru—an acknowledgment which nobly proves the greatness of the Republic. America is strengthening her naval defences, and is enjoying an extraordinary degree of commercial prosperity; by favour of which her public debt is melting away.

Our own colonies of Australia continue their wonderful reports. This time the news is darkened with a considerable revival of crime; but the gold gilds all. The excitement in the City is immense: the shares of one company have mounted more than a hundred per cent.; and emigration receives a new impulse—and meets with new difficulties. Two ships have returned not sea-worthy: one is the *Adelaide*, which was to have redeemed the character of its owners; the other is the *W. S. Lindsay*. Are our naval architects losing their art, or are ships built and fitted in too great a hurry?

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK. MINISTERIAL RESIGNATIONS.

BOTH Houses met on Monday to learn officially the intentions of the late Ministers, whose resignation had been known from the public prints. There was a marked difference in the matter and tone of the speeches addressed to either House by the Prime Minister and his abler lieutenant. While Mr. Disraeli expressed, in his mellowest and most musical tones, regret for any personality which escaped him in the heat of Thursday's debate, and his generous apology was most generously received, Lord Derby was petulant, impudent, and incorrect. One was brief and pointed; the other, long, rambling, and unsatisfactory.

First let us recount the proceedings in

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Clerk read the order of the day for going into Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. Disraeli, whose face wore an expression of pathetic resignation, and whose coat was adorned with a red rose, got upon his legs and spoke as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker, after the vote at which the House arrived on Thursday night, the Earl of Derby and his colleagues thought it their duty to tender the resignation of their offices to her Majesty, and her Majesty has been most graciously pleased to accept the same. It has reached me that Lord Aberdeen has undertaken the office of forming a new Administration, and therefore it only remains for me to say that we hold our present offices only until our successors are appointed. I hope the House will not think it presumptuous on my part if, under these circumstances, I venture to offer them my grateful thanks for the indulgent, and I may even say the generous, manner in which on both sides I have been supported in attempting to conduct the business of this House. (Hear, hear, from both sides of the House.) If, sir, in maintaining a too unequal struggle, any word has escaped my lips (which I hope has never been the case except in the way of retort) which has hurt the feelings of any gentleman in this House, I deeply regret it. (Hear, hear, hear.) And I hope that the impression on their part will be as transient as the sense of provocation was on my own. (Hear, hear, hear.) The kind opinion of the Members of this House, whatever may be their political opinions, and wherever I may sit, will always be to me a most precious possession, one which I shall most covet and most appreciate. I beg, sir, to move that this House on its rising do adjourn to Thursday next."

He was successively followed by Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, and Sir Charles Wood.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL: I rise, sir, for the purpose, in the first place, of saying I entirely concur in the motion of the right honourable gentleman, and in the next place to say that I feel quite certain that if, in the course of our debates, flying words should at any time have carried a barb with them, it is to be attributed entirely to the circumstances in which the House is placed (hear, hear); and for my part I can only admire the ability and gallantry with which the right honourable gentleman has conducted himself, on the part of the Government and in behalf of the cause which he has undertaken, in the struggle in which he has been for some time engaged. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible to hope that those halcyon days will ever arrive in which, in the course of debate, unpremeditated speeches shall not give rise to some unpleasant feeling; but if ever it should occur, feelings of that kind must be done away, if the person in the situation of the right hon. gentleman imitates his example and disclaims the intention with the same frankness which he has displayed on the present occasion. (Hear, hear.)

Sir JAMES GRAHAM: With respect to the future I am altogether uninformed, but with respect to the past, after what has fallen from the right honourable gentleman, I cannot refrain from saying one word. It would be impos-

sible for me not to avow I was somewhat pained by an expression which fell from the right honourable gentleman on Thursday night. If I had thought that the right honourable gentleman, by premeditation, intended to wound me, my feelings would be far different, and it would be my duty to express them in a different manner. But I am not conscious that I have over in the course of the debate said anything with the intentional purpose to wound the feelings of the right hon. gentleman, and I could not believe that, without provocation, he gave expression to words intended to wound me. I was confident, therefore, that the expression that had pained me was without premeditation, and what the right hon. gentleman has just said to-night has confirmed that impression. (Hear, hear.) There is no member of this House so deeply attached to freedom of debate as I am. (Hear, hear.) In the course of debates here, I have certainly, myself, used unguarded expressions to others, and should be the last person to feel resentment after receiving an explanation. At the same time I cordially join in what has fallen from my noble friend the member for the city of London. I have never failed to admire the talents of the right hon. gentleman, and I also must say, under great difficulties he has conducted the cause of the Government in the last ten months in this House with signal ability. (Hear, hear.) I shall not for one moment recollect the expression to which I have thought it my duty to refer, and I hope my conduct in this House will at all times insure some portion of its respect. (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES WOOD: I think I should be wanting in that proper feeling which has marked the conduct of the right honourable gentleman, if I did not say a word on this occasion. I can only say, if I had been conscious of having used an expression beyond the fair liberty of debate, I should not have been wanting in inclination to retract or apologise for that expression; but being unconscious of having done so, I referred to a right honourable gentleman who sits near me, and he did not think I had used any expression to justify the attack of the right hon. gentleman. I think it fair to say this only in my own defence; but feeling strongly as I did on the question under discussion, I may, in the heat of debate, have betrayed a warmth of expression far beyond any intention on my part. (Hear, hear.) I thought it fair to myself to say thus much, and I may add, I accept the expression of the right honourable gentleman's regret as frankly as he has proffered it. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that he must feel that, with the friendly and reciprocal terms on which we have heretofore communicated, I could not have intended to say anything personal. And I will say further, with regard to any expressions which gave him pain, there are no expressions of courtesy which I am not willing to make. (Hear, hear.) I am most anxious our debates in this House should be conducted with courtesy, and I am very sorry indeed that anything like personal observation should have arisen to interrupt it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUME intimated that care must be taken to form the new Government upon principles of wise and progressive reform, especially in the representation. Mr. CAYLEY offered his "feeble tribute" of admiration to Mr. Disraeli; and then the House agreed to adjourn until Thursday.

Now let us turn to

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The House of Lords was very full of strangers and members from the Commons; but there were few peers.

Lord DERBY, consistently with the usual practice, announced the dissolution of the Ministry—

The responsibility of lightly abandoning office is not less than that of lightly accepting it; and it is right that each House of Parliament and the country should be satisfied that those who were charged with the important duties of official responsibility should not throw up the discharge of those duties on light and trivial grounds, and least of all, on grounds that partake of pique or personal feeling. The causes which led to the dissolution of the "present" Government are patent to all mankind. And he proceeded to state those causes.

"A careful examination of the returns made by the different constituencies, and of the policy professed by the candidates at their several elections, rendered the position of the Government and of the other parties in the State a matter of no uncertainty, and of easy calculation. It was clear that there were of the supporters of the Government, on questions not involving Free-trade or Protection, but of parties who were generally disposed to support her Majesty's Ministers, 310 gentlemen. There were three other parties—if, indeed, there were not many more—the first including in it all the various gradations of opinion, from the high aristocratic and exclusive Whig down to the wildest theorist and the extreme of the Radical party, in all their ramifications, comprising 260 members. The third party consisted of gentlemen from the sister kingdom, principally representing the Irish Roman-catholic clergymen, and holding the extreme doctrines of the Ultramontane school—all of them pledged by the declarations which they have put forward to use their utmost endeavours for the overthrow of the present, or any other, Government which is not prepared to act upon their extreme opinions. Further, there was a party, numerically small, comprehending from thirty to thirty-five members, gentlemen of great personal worth, of great eminence and respectability, possessing considerable official ability and a large amount of talent—gentlemen who once professed, and I believe do still profess, Conservative opinions. Those gentlemen possess talents which would reflect credit on any Administration, but their numbers, as I stated, are comparatively small. In this state of things it was obvious to her Majesty's present Government, that though they had by far the largest party, and were nearly a moiety of the whole House of Commons, yet they did not possess the support of an absolute majority in that House, and that, consequently, if it should be the will of all the three other parties

to whom I have referred to combine in carrying out a movement for the overthrow of the Government, those three parties so combining—whatever power they might possess for the formation of another Government—had full power to destroy and overthrow the Government which then existed. We were not long to be left in doubt as to whether the will existed on the part of those to whom I have alluded, to overthrow the Government. Before we had an opportunity of bringing forward any specific measures, notice was given of a motion by a gentleman holding extreme opinions—a gentleman of whom I desire to speak with all respect, because he has throughout consistently maintained and steadily supported the same opinions when they were unpopular which he did when subsequently ratified by public opinion, so that he at all events has a perfect right to plume himself on the consistency of his opinions, and to the hands of no man could a declaration of Free-trade policy be more fitly consigned. But the hon. gentleman holds extreme opinions; and in order that the Government might be placed in a minority on that question, before we had any opportunity of bringing forward our measures, it was necessary that a concert should take place among all the parties to whom I have referred, because, without such concert, the Government would still be in a majority. My lords, we are speaking here of no doubtful question. We have had some curious revelations made to us by a right hon. baronet, a member of the other House, who has lifted the curtain, admitted us behind the scenes, shown us the actors preparing for their parts, and discussing the most convenient phrases to be adopted in order to obtain that universal concurrence which was necessary to accomplish their object, and place the Government in a minority. The incidents, my lords, possess almost a dramatic character; for when these concerted measures appeared ready for execution, an amendment was moved in another and unexpected quarter, which placed the matter on a different footing, and prevented that union of Whigs, Conservatives, and Radicals which was necessary for the Government to be placed in a minority. My lords, the Government escaped defeat on this occasion by the falling asunder of the different materials of which that combination was composed. We proceeded then to bring forward and to submit to Parliament the financial policy which we were to propose, and after a lengthened debate in the House of Commons, by the union of all the three parties, the Government were defeated in a House almost unprecedentedly full—a House, I believe, in which there were not more than six-and-twenty members in the whole House who, in one way or the other, did not record their opinions. In that House, so constituted, the Government were subjected to a defeat by a majority of nineteen."

Had he been defeated on a minor point, greatly as he would have felt that the position of the Government was weakened, he would not have resigned. "But this defeat was on no minor question—it was on the basis of our whole financial policy—let me rather say it was ostensibly on the basis of the financial policy which was to be established in the country, and in reality and in truth it was, and it was known to be—was avowed to be—a vote that was to determine the confidence or the want of confidence the House of Commons reposed in us. (Hear, hear.) I need not stop to prove that such was the issue really intended by the vote of the other House of Parliament—such was the issue laid before the country; and on such an issue her Majesty's Government sustained an unequivocal defeat. I felt, and my colleagues felt with me, that no option remained but to tender to her Majesty the resignation of those offices with which she had entrusted us, but which we were no longer able to perform with satisfaction to ourselves or with the ability to carry out our own views and objects. On the morning after we had sustained that defeat—my lords, I speak only of the facts of the case, I am not about to argue upon them; something I perhaps might have said with regard to the character of the combination and the animus displayed in this settled purpose to overthrow the Government, but I wish to abstain from all expressions the use of which can by possibility give rise to controversy or contradiction—having had a distinct declaration of want of confidence on the part of the House of Commons, and having ascertained that my colleagues unanimously concurred with me as to the only course we ought to pursue, I proceeded to wait upon her Majesty, and to tender to her, in my own name and that of my colleagues, the humble resignation of our offices. Her Majesty was pleased to accept our resignation, and signified her pleasure, which was acted upon in the course of the same day, to send and take the advice of noblemen, members of your lordships' house—both of them of great experience and considerable ability—of long practice in public life, and one of them—I speak without the slightest disrespect of the other—peculiarly distinguished, not only by long experience, but by his well-known moderation and temper, by the spirit of mingled firmness and courtesy with which he has on all occasions discharged his duties here, and which is admirably calculated to conciliate friends and to disarm opposition. The noble marquis to whom I allude was prevented by illness from attending the summons of her Majesty, and on the following day, in answer to a further summons from her Majesty, the Earl of Aberdeen—the other nobleman to whom I referred—waited upon her Majesty, and received her Majesty's commands—which he signified his readiness to obey—to undertake the formation of a new Administration."

What its principles would be he knew not; but he remembered hearing Lord Aberdeen say that, except on Free-trade, he knew of little or no difference between himself and her Majesty's present Government; and so long as there is no difference, Lord Derby will believe that the new Ministry will be conservative in spirit and principle. Yet Lord Aberdeen must rely on having more forbearance shown him by the great Conservative party than that Conservative party has experienced at the hands of others. "I venture to promise that if the Government about to be formed be conducted upon Conservative principles, and with a view to resist the onward progress of democratic

power in the constitution—in that event, the noble earl may rely on having, if not the cordial, at all events the sincere and conscientious support of the great Conservative party in this country. He will find, if the past cannot be forgotten, that at least personal feeling shall exercise no influence on our conduct, and he will find that he will be encountered on the part of myself and my friends by no factious opposition, and that he will be met by no unprincipled combination."

Referring to the state in which he leaves public affairs, he said, our foreign relations are better than when Lord Malmesbury entered office; and, resolved to leave no doubt of his entire concurrence with that Minister, he thus sang his praises:—

"I rejoice to have this opportunity of bearing my testimony to one to whom no one has been more unsparingly, and, I venture to say, more unjustly maligned than my noble friend. From first to last I have had no cause for anything but self-gratulation in having obtained for that department the services of one who, without previous political experience, has brought to bear an ability, a diligence, and a good judgment on the affairs of his department, which reflects the highest credit upon him, and which I venture to say has extorted the applause and admiration of old and experienced diplomatists, against whose views he has on more than one occasion had to combat, and successfully to combat."

Law reform furnished another subject of eulogy, and then he came to the subject of the national defences.

"I think I may take credit for our having done this—for having for the first time broken the apathy—the dangerous apathy, the existence of which was most injurious to the public service, in regard to the internal defences of this country; and if we leave the affairs of this country in such a state that there is no fear of hostility from abroad—in a state of friendly relations with all the great Powers—we leave it also in a condition of self-defence which is almost completed, and towards the full completion of which we have laid a ground which I trust will not be abandoned by those who may succeed us, who, I trust, will not be neglectful of those great elements of self-defence which we have called into operation, the old and constitutional force of the militia, and an increase to that naval force which must ever be, in the first instance, the safeguard of this country. My lords, we leave the administration of this country in a state, I hope, of tranquillity, of contentment, and of prosperity; at peace with all foreign powers, with increasing, if not with fully accomplished, means of self-defence and self-dependence."

Lord Aberdeen, to his great surprise, had asked him to adjourn the House until Monday; but looking to the inconvenience of detaining their lordships in town over Christmas-day, he should move the adjournment of the House to Thursday.

The Duke of Newcastle said that Lord Derby had not realized his wish of avoiding a controversy. He had made a statement which the Duke of Newcastle begged to deny positively, but he hoped courteously.

Lord Derby stated that he saw at the commencement of the session a determination on the part of three parties, whom he enumerated, to overthrow the Government, and he quoted the speech of Sir James Graham in the other House of Parliament, to prove that attempts were made to form a combination by which the Government would be prevented from bringing their measures before the country. "My lords, the very opposite of that statement is the truth. The part which he did take was announced by the right hon. baronet as having been taken by himself, in concert with my noble friend, Lord Aberdeen, who is now absent; and I think it is absolutely necessary for me, or for some one of my friends—he has very few in this House—to rise in his place and to state the real facts of the case. My lords, I say that the statement of the right honourable baronet was this—that attempts were made by a few gentlemen—himself included—to prepare a resolution which should combine the whole of the friends of Free-trade, and to separate that resolution from all appearance of opposition to the Government. It was for that express purpose that my right honourable friend framed his resolution; and my lords, can there be a more conclusive proof that there was no such combination as the noble earl stated than the simple fact that the very words which my right hon. friend framed were the words which were eventually accepted and adopted by the Government, though they did not receive the sanction and approbation of the hon. gentleman to whom the noble earl alluded as having moved the first resolution? My lords, I have already said I do not wish to arouse controversy; but it is due to my right honourable friend in the other House—it is due to the noble earl, that such a statement should not go forth uncontradicted. The opposite statement is the case. It was their strong and earnest desire that the noble earl and his colleagues in the other House of Parliament should produce before the country their measures; and the course of my right honourable friend, and of those to whom the noble earl alluded as members of a party of 35—the course they took with regard to the resolution moved by the honourable gentleman, Mr. Villiers, are facts patent to all; and were it not for the broad statement made by the noble earl to-night, I should have thought that contradiction was unnecessary. (Hear, hear.) When the noble earl talks of combination, I must say that he has himself informed the House of a fact which affords the strongest contradiction to the combination and preparation which he has assumed to exist, when he has informed your lordships that the noble earl who was summoned to Osborne on Saturday required a week in order to form an Administration. (Hear, hear.) I will not now enter further into a discussion on the subject. We have heard before of Prime Ministers who were taken by surprise, and found themselves in positions which they had little expected."

The Duke of Newcastle then challenged Lord

Derby to a discussion of the facts upon a future occasion, when "he will be fairly met." And he finished as follows:—

"It is most important that through such lips as those of the noble earl the country should not be under any misconception as to the views, the honesty, and the straightforward conduct of those who perhaps before long will be entrusted with the duty of the administration of this country. I beg pardon of your lordships for having detained you with these remarks. I found myself placed in an unusual position, but with the affection I bear to the noble earl (the Earl of Aberdeen) as a friend, as well as with regard to other friends of mine in the House of Commons, whose characters have been drawn into this discussion, I could not refrain from offering a few remarks to the House. In conclusion, I will only beg your lordships not to consider that there are not many other things in the speech of the noble earl which may require on a future occasion explanation, and a no less positive contradiction than that given by me to that particular part to which I have called the attention of your lordships."

Lord DERBY explained.

"The statement which I made to your lordships was derived from information which I thought, and still think, was not of a character to deceive me, and was one which I thought it my duty to make. I will not now enter into any controversy on the subject. I will merely state in explanation that I did not say that the motion had been made for the purpose of preventing our bringing our measures before the country; but I did say that from the first commencement of the session there was an obvious connexion existing between different parties for the purpose of putting the Government in a minority, and that the motion was made, and concert entered into on the subject, before we had the opportunity of explaining our measures to the country. I did not say the object of making the motion was at that time for the specific purpose of preventing Her Majesty's Government from explaining their measures. I am not aware that in anything I have said I have in the slightest degree deviated from courtesy to the noble earl, and if I did not comply with his request in moving the adjournment of the House until Monday next, I have stated the reason why I have not so complied, and I also stated that if the noble earl should not be ready by Thursday next, I should of course be prepared to move the further adjournment of the House from Thursday till Monday, with of course the distinct understanding that no business of any importance should be brought forward till then."

The House then adjourned until Thursday.

Both Houses of Parliament met on Thursday, but the business transacted was unimportant. The House of Lords, on the motion of the Earl of DERBY, adjourned till Monday; and the House of Commons until two o'clock on Friday, upon the motion of the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.

RAILWAY LEGISLATION.—The committee, consisting of Mr. Henley, Mr. Hume, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Strutt, Mr. Patten, Colonel Mure, Captain Jones, Mr. Deedes, Mr. Milnes, Mr. Denison, and Mr. Laffan, appointed to consider the principle of amalgamation as applied to railway and canal bills about to be brought under the consideration of Parliament, and to consider the principles that ought to guide the House in railway legislation, have reported that in their opinion all railway bills introduced into the House during the present session should as a general rule be made integral in themselves, and that the greatest caution should be exercised in admitting into them, otherwise than by specific enactment, provisions which repeal, continue, or extend the powers of former acts, and that the attention of committees on private bills should be directed to this point.

THE MINISTRY.

LORD DERBY announced his resignation to the Queen at Osborne yesterday week, and recommended Her Majesty, it is said, to send for the Marquis of Lansdowne. Another story is, that he did not recommend any successor, but that the Queen accepted his resignation, and sent for the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Aberdeen. The Marquis was detained by the gout, and on the Queen's command, Lord Aberdeen went on Saturday alone to Osborne House. He returned on Monday, charged with the task of forming a Cabinet, and he instantly entered into communication with Lord John Russell and the friends of Sir Robert Peel. On Monday morning, Lord Derby assembled his supporters in Downing Street, and addressed to them a speech in all respects similar to that which he delivered the same night in the House of Lords. On Tuesday, Lord John Russell waited on Lord Aberdeen at Argyll House, and remained with him for two hours; and when he departed in the middle of the day, the Peel party assembled, including the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Gladstone, and Sir James Graham. As soon as this meeting broke up, Lord Aberdeen drove to Lansdowne House, and all day couriers were coming and going between Osborne and the residence of Lord Aberdeen. It is stated that on Wednesday the list, as far as it was complete, was handed to the Queen by the new Premier.

The *Times* of yesterday announced that the United Administration had been successfully formed; that Lord John Russell will be Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary; the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for the Colonies; and that, on Thursday

night, the Admiralty, the Board of Control, and the Exchequer, only, had to be bestowed upon Sir Charles Wood, Mr. Gladstone, and Sir James Graham. The *Chronicle*, however, states that Sir James Graham will take the Admiralty, and Sir Charles Wood the Board of Control, leaving the Exchequer to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Sidney Herbert will be Secretary at War. Lord Granville is also to have a place. The *Times* and the *Chronicle* are connected by different channels with the new Cabinet; so their statements have great weight.

MR. GLADSTONE AND LORD DERBY.

THE morning journals of Thursday published the following letter, addressed by Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Phillimore, and dated December 22nd:—

"It causes me no surprise to learn that the unwarrantable statement of Lord Derby in the House of Lords on Monday night, to the effect that his defeat on Thursday last was the result of a concert or combination between the friends of Sir R. Peel and other political parties, should have caused much soreness among those who supported me at the late contested election for Oxford. For they will, no doubt, remember that I avowed, before and during that election, a wish to find the policy and measures of the Government such as would justify me in giving them my support."

"That wish I sincerely entertained, and I am ready to show it by reference to all my subsequent acts; but the main question—one really of personal honour, as well as of political consistency—is this: whether the concert or combination alleged to have taken place for the purpose of ejecting Lord Derby's Government from office is a fact or a fiction."

"I have not the slightest hesitation in stating to you that it is a fiction. I give you this assurance absolutely as regards myself, and with all the confidence as regards my immediate friends that one man can have in the veracity of another. I shall denounce it as a fiction upon every legitimate occasion that may offer itself to me, and shall complain of the propagation, from such a source, of a statement so injurious and so entirely unsupported by legitimate evidence."

"It was entirely unsupported by such evidence, for the only presumption in its favour was this—that we voted against the Budget of Mr. Disraeli in strict conformity with every principle of finance we had professed through our political lives, and with the policy of former finance Ministers from the time of Mr. Pitt, against the 'new principles' and 'new policies' which Mr. Disraeli declared at Aylesbury his intention to submit to the House of Commons—a pledge which I admit that he completely redeemed."

"You are quite at liberty to make known the purport of this letter, and especially—in its full breadth—the denial it contains."

DISGRACEFUL SCENE IN THE CARLTON CLUB.

WE find the following statement in a contemporary:—"A scene took place at the Carlton Club on Monday evening which has excited much attention, and may yet lead to very unpleasant consequences. The version of the affair which has reached us is to the effect that, while Mr. Gladstone was reading a newspaper, and not having conversation with any one, certain Tory members of the House of Commons, who had been treating Major Beresford to a dinner by way of celebrating his acquittal by the Derby Committee, came into the room, and employed extremely insulting language to the right hon. gentleman, telling him, among other things, that he had no right to belong to a Conservative Club, but ought to be pitched out at the window in the direction of the Reform Club. Mr. Gladstone addressed the parties in the most courteous terms; but, instead of this producing a proper effect upon them, they repeated their insulting language, ordered candles in another room, and then left Mr. Gladstone alone. One of the principal performers in the scene is a gallant colonel, and another who played a prominent part in it is a gentleman whose name has figured a good deal of late in the public journals in connexion with another scene. The affair, as might be expected, has created a great sensation in the Carlton; and it is supposed that an inquiry into the circumstances must be instituted."—*Times*.

We subjoin another, and, we believe, the true version of this affair from the *Globe* of Thursday.

"We gave yesterday a paragraph from a morning contemporary, on this political episode. The performers, or rather interlocutors, have made no secret of it out of doors; so that we need not have much delicacy about the occurrence. We do not hear that there was any formal Beresford celebration; nor indeed did the statement we inserted yesterday quite amount to that. It is, however, pretty clear that the Beresford or Derby champions had 'greatly daring dined'—whether 'judicious drank' is another matter. The first question addressed at the obnoxious parties, was whether those Peelites (we omit epithets) meant to continue members of a Conservative club. Mr. Gladstone, we understand, rose from the table where he was sitting, and replied, 'They do.' The next question was, how they could call themselves Conservatives after turning out a Conservative government. Mr. Gladstone, we are told, rejoined—That would raise the question whether Lord Derby's government had been such or not. The next remark was the expression of the wish

that there was a gallows outside the club-house, and of the satisfaction with which the speaker, standing with his back to the fire, would see all the Peelites strung up upon it. Lord Mahon, we have heard, interposed some remark, which produced the rejoinder that the first interlocutor intended to include the noble lord in his sweeping extrajudicial sentence. After denouncing this suspension of the Peelite Thirty in the Carlton from all future public action, the Derbyite party withdrew, and sent the waiter to summon a lingerer out of such evil company."

Is the conduct here described to be taken as a specimen of the chivalry of gentlemen of England?

MESSAGE OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

THE *America* brought the President's message on Monday. She left Boston on the 8th, and Halifax on the 10th, of December.

The message embraces a great variety of topics, of unusual interest to the British reader; and although its importance is lessened by its being the last message of President Fillmore, it may be fairly taken as embodying the views and mode of conducting of the late great Whig party, which died with Webster, whom, in his message, the President so honourably mentions; saying truly, that "his commanding talents, his great political and professional eminence, his well-tryed patriotism, and his long and faithful services, in the most important public trusts, have caused his death to be lamented throughout the country, and have earned for him a lasting place in our history."

The next topics are the Fisheries, and Cuba:—

THE FISHERIES DISPUTE.

"In the course of the last summer, considerable anxiety was caused for a short time by an official intimation from the Government of Great Britain that orders had been given for the protection of the fisheries upon the coast of the British provinces in North America against the alleged encroachments of the fishing vessels of the United States and France. The shortness of this notice and the season of the year seemed to make it a matter of urgent importance. It was at first apprehended that an increased naval force had been ordered to the fishing grounds to carry into effect the British interpretation of those provisions in the convention of 1818, in reference to the true intent of which the two Governments differ. It was soon discovered that such was not the design of Great Britain, and satisfactory explanations of the real objects of the measure have been given both here and in London. The unadjusted difference, however, between the two Governments as to the interpretation of the first article of the convention of 1818, is still a matter of importance. American fishing-vessels within nine or ten years have been excluded from waters to which they had free access for twenty-five years after the negotiation of the treaty. In 1845, this exclusion was relaxed so far as concerns the Bay of Fundy, but the just and liberal intention of the Home Government, in compliance with what we think the true construction of the convention, to open all the other outer bays to our fishermen, was abandoned, in consequence of the opposition of the colonies. Notwithstanding this, the United States have, since the Bay of Fundy was re-opened to our fishermen in 1845, pursued the most liberal course towards the colonial fishing interests. By the revenue law of 1846, the duties on colonial fish entering our ports were very greatly reduced, and by the Warehousing Act it is allowed to be entered in bond without payment of duty. In this way colonial fish has acquired the monopoly of the export trade in our market, and is entering in some extent into the home consumption. These facts were among those which increased the sensibility of our fishing interest at the movement in question. These circumstances and the incidents above alluded to, have led me to think the moment favourable for a re-consideration of the entire subject of the fisheries on the coast of the British provinces, with a view to place them upon a more liberal footing of reciprocal privilege. A willingness to meet us in some arrangement of this kind is understood to exist on the part of Great Britain, with a desire on her part to include in one comprehensive settlement as well this subject as the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British provinces. I have thought that, whatever arrangements may be made on these two subjects, it is expedient that they should be embraced in separate conventions. The illness and death of the late Secretary of State prevented the commencement of the contemplated negotiation. Pains have been taken to collect the information required for the details of such an arrangement. The subject is attended with considerable difficulty. If it is found practicable to come to an agreement mutually acceptable to the two parties, conventions may be concluded in the course of the present winter. The control of Congress over all the provisions of such an arrangement affecting the revenue, will of course be reserved."

CUBA.

"The affairs of Cuba formed a prominent topic in my last annual message. They remain in an uneasy condition, and a feeling of alarm and irritation on the part of the Cuban authorities appears to exist. This feeling has interfered with the regular commercial intercourse between the United States and the island, and led to some acts of which we have a right to complain. But the Captain General of Cuba is clothed with no power to treat with foreign governments, nor is he in any degree under the control of the Spanish minister at Washington. Any communication which he may hold with an agent of a foreign power is informal and matter of courtesy. Anxious to put an end to the existing inconveniences (which seemed to rest on a misconception), I directed the newly-appointed minister to Mexico to sit Havana, on his way to Vera

Cruz. He was respectfully received by the Captain General, who conferred with him freely on the recent occurrences; but no permanent arrangement was effected. In the meantime, the refusal of the Captain General to allow passengers and the mail to be landed in certain cases, for a reason which does not furnish in the opinion of this Government even a good presumptive ground for such a prohibition, has been made the subject of a serious remonstrance at Madrid; and I have no reason to doubt that due respect will be paid by the Government of her Catholic Majesty to the representations which our minister has been instructed to make on the subject. It is but justice to the Captain General to add, that his conduct towards the steamers employed to carry the mails of the United States to Havana has, with the exceptions above alluded to, been marked with kindness and liberality, and indicates no general purpose of interfering with the commercial correspondence and intercourse between the island and this country. Early in the present year, official notes were received from the ministers of France and England, inviting the Government of the United States to become a party with Great Britain and France to a tripartite convention, in virtue of which the three powers should severally and collectively disclaim, now and for the future, all intention to obtain possession of the Island of Cuba, and should bind themselves to discountenance all attempts to that effect on the part of any power or individual whatever. This invitation has been respectfully declined, for reasons which it would occupy too much space in this communication to state in detail, but which led me to think that the proposed measure would be of doubtful constitutionality, impolitic, and unavailing. I have, however, in common with several of my predecessors, directed the Ministers of France and England to be assured that the United States entertain no designs against Cuba, but that, on the contrary, I should regard its incorporation into the Union at the present time as fraught with serious peril. Were this island comparatively destitute of inhabitants, or occupied by a kindred race, I should regard it, if voluntarily ceded by Spain, as a most desirable acquisition, but, under existing circumstances, I should look upon its incorporation into our Union as a very hazardous measure. It would bring into the confederacy a population of a different national stock, speaking a different language, and not likely to harmonize with the other members. It would probably affect in a prejudicial manner the industrial interests of the south, and it might revive those conflicts of opinion between the different sections of the country which lately shook the Union to its centre, and which have been so happily compromised."

PANAMA TRANSIT.

The President notices the rejection by the Mexican Congress of the convention which had been concluded between that Republic and the United States for the protection of a transit way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, has thrown obstacles in the way of a desirable object, which he still hopes to see removed. It appears, also, that certain differences in regard to their boundaries between Nicaragua and Costa Rica have not yet been smoothed down; and that it is considered indispensable, before commencing the ship canal between the two oceans, these differences should be ended. But Nicaragua has objected to placing San Juan de Nicaragua under the government of a civilized power. England and the United States have been jointly operating to effect this, but ineffectually hitherto.

THE LOBOS ISLANDS.

"The correspondence of the late Secretary of State with the Peruvian chargé d'affaires relative to the Lobos Islands was communicated to Congress towards the close of the last session. Since that time, on further investigation of the subject, the doubts which had been entertained of the title of Peru to those islands have been removed; and I have deemed it just that the temporary wrong which had been unintentionally done her, from want of information, should be repaired by an unreserved acknowledgment of her sovereignty. I have the satisfaction to inform you that the course pursued by Peru has been creditable to the liberality of her Government. Before it was known by her that her title would be acknowledged at Washington, her Minister of Foreign Affairs had authorized our chargé d'affaires at Lima to announce to the American vessels which had gone to the Lobos for guano, that the Peruvian Government was willing to freight them on its own account. This intention has been carried into effect by the Peruvian minister here, by an arrangement which is believed to be advantageous to the parties in interest."

THE JAPAN EXPEDITION.

"Our settlements on the shores of the Pacific have already given a great extension, and in some respects a new direction, to our commerce in that ocean. A direct and rapidly increasing intercourse has sprung up with Eastern Asia. The waters of the Northern Pacific, even into the Arctic Sea, have of late years been frequented by our whalers. The application of steam to the general purposes of navigation is becoming daily more common, and makes it desirable to obtain fuel and other necessary supplies at convenient points on the routes between Asia and our Pacific shores. Our unfortunate countrymen who from time to time suffer shipwreck on the coasts of the eastern seas are entitled to protection. Besides these specific objects, the general prosperity of our states on the Pacific requires that an attempt should be made to open the opposite regions of Asia to a mutually beneficial intercourse. It is obvious that this attempt could be made by no power to so great advantage as by the United States, whose constitutional system excludes every idea of distant colonial dependencies. I have accordingly been led to order an appropriate naval force to Japan, under the command of a discreet and intelligent officer of the highest rank known to our service. He is instructed to endeavour to

obtain from the Government of that country some relaxation of the inhospitable and anti-social system which it has pursued for about two centuries. He has been directed particularly to remonstrate in the strongest language against the cruel treatment to which our shipwrecked mariners have often been subjected, and to insist that they shall be treated with humanity. He is instructed, however, at the same time, to give that Government the amplest assurances that the objects of the United States are such, and such only, as I have indicated, and that the expedition is friendly and peaceful. Notwithstanding the jealousy with which the Government of Eastern Asia regard all overtures from foreigners, I am not without hopes of a beneficial result of the expedition. Should it be crowned with success, the advantages will not be confined to the United States, but, as in the case of China, will be equally enjoyed by all the other maritime powers. I have much satisfaction in stating that in all the steps preparatory to this expedition the Government of the United States has been materially aided by the good offices of the King of the Netherlands, the only European power having any commercial relations with Japan."

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

Under this head is comprised the statement of the revenue, the Tariff, Indian Affairs, Surveys, Coast Defences, Naval Reform, the Post-Office, and matters connected with the efficiency of the offices of the executive.

The revenue is in a highly prosperous state. There had been received on the 30th of June last, 49,728,396 dollars; expended, 46,007,896 dollars, including upwards of nine millions employed to liquidation of the public debt. The balance at the Treasury on the 1st of July was 14,632,136 dollars; and since then upwards of two millions had been expended on the debt. The value of foreign merchandise imported during the last fiscal year was 207,240,101 dollars, and the value of domestic productions exported was 149,861,911 dollars, besides 17,204,026 dollars of foreign merchandise exported, making the aggregate of the entire exports 167,065,937 dollars; exclusive of the above, there was exported 42,507,285 dollars in specie, and imported from foreign ports, 5,262,643 dollars.

The President puts on record that on the subject of protection "nothing has occurred to change his views." He is still a protectionist, and repeats exactly the same arguments lately used by a great party in this country. But he recommends a mode of taxation worthy attention:—

"Another question, wholly independent of protection, presents itself, and that is, whether the duties levied should be upon the value of the article at the place of shipment, or, where it is practicable, a specific duty, graduated according to quantity, as ascertained by weight or measure. All our duties are at present *ad valorem*. A certain per centage is levied on the price of the goods at the port of shipment in a foreign country. Most commercial nations have found it indispensable, for the purpose of preventing fraud and perjury, to make the duty specific whenever the article is of such a uniform value in weight or measures as to justify such a duty. Legislation should never encourage dishonesty or crime. It is impossible that the revenue officers at the port where the goods are entered and the duties paid should know with certainty what they cost in the foreign country. Yet the law requires that they should levy the duty according to such cost. They are therefore compelled to resort to very unsatisfactory evidence to ascertain what that cost was. They take the invoice of the importer, attested by his oath, as the best evidence of which the nature of the case admits. But every one must see that the invoice may be fabricated, and the oath by which it is supported false, by reason of which the dishonest importer pays a part only of the duties which are paid by the honest one, and thus indirectly receives from the Treasury of the United States a reward for his fraud and perjury. The reports of the Secretary of the Treasury heretofore made on this subject show conclusively that these frauds have been practised to a great extent. The tendency is to destroy that high moral character for which our merchants have long been distinguished; to defraud the Government of its revenue; to break down the honest importer by a dishonest competition; and, finally, to transfer the business of importation to foreign and irresponsible agents, to the great detriment of our own citizens. I therefore again most earnestly recommend the adoption of specific duties, wherever it is practicable, or a home valuation, to prevent these frauds. I would also again call your attention to the fact that the present tariff in some cases imposes a higher duty upon the raw material imported than upon the article manufactured from it, the consequence of which is, that the duty operates to the encouragement of the foreigner and the discouragement of our own citizens."

Indian affairs are satisfactory, except on the Mexican frontier, where, out of an army of 11,000 men, 8000 are engaged in repressing Indian inroads; and in Oregon, Texas, and California, where the Indian has no status, no exclusive territory. The last remnant of the brave tribe of Seminole Indians are about to emigrate from Florida.

A great many surveys have been effected; but the survey of the Rio Grande has been stopped on account of the vagueness of the act appropriating the funds in payment thereof.

There have been no less than 3,342,372 acres sold, located, under warrants, and reserved for improvements, more than in the previous year.

From the Navy department there is a suggestion for

establishing a permanent corps of seamen, and some new organization of the seamen in order to improve the efficiency of the service, and prevent insubordination now prevalent. The President, nevertheless, vindicates the abolition of corporal punishment; and hopes that a better class of men will enlist in the navy.

Cheap postage has not brought so large a revenue as the dearer rates; but the President cannot recommend a return to the old system.

One of the most important legacies Mr. Fillmore leaves his successors is the section on

NON-INTERVENTION.

"It has been the uniform policy of this Government, from its foundation to the present day, to abstain from all interference in the domestic affairs of other nations. The consequence has been, that while the nations of Europe have been engaged in desolating wars, our country has pursued its peaceful course to unexampled prosperity and happiness. The wars in which we have been compelled to engage, in defence of the rights and honour of the country, have been fortunately of short duration. During the terrific contest of nation against nation which succeeded the French revolution, we were enabled by the wisdom and firmness of President Washington to maintain our neutrality. While other nations were drawn into this wide sweeping whirlpool, we sat quiet and unmoved upon our own shores. While the flower of their numerous armies was wasted by disease or perished by hundreds of thousands upon the battle-field, the youth of this favoured land were permitted to enjoy the blessings of peace beneath the paternal roof. While the States of Europe incurred enormous debts, under the burden of which their subjects still groan, and which must absorb no small part of the product of the honest industry of those countries for generations to come, the United States have once been enabled to exhibit the proud spectacle of a nation free from public debt; and, if permitted to pursue our prosperous way for a few years longer in peace, we may do the same again.

"But it is now said by some that this policy must be changed. Europe is no longer separated from us by a voyage of months, but steam navigation has brought her within a few days' sail of our shores. We see more of her movements and take a deeper interest in her controversies. Although no one proposes that we should join the fraternity of potentates who have for ages lavished the blood and treasure of their subjects in maintaining 'the balance of power,' yet it is said that we ought to interfere between contending Sovereigns and their subjects for the purpose of overthrowing the Monarchies of Europe and establishing in their place Republican institutions. It is alleged that we have heretofore pursued a different course from a sense of our weakness, but that now our conscious strength dictates a change of policy, and that it is consequently our duty to mingle in these contests and aid those who are struggling for liberty.

"This is a most seductive but dangerous appeal to the generous sympathies of freemen. Enjoying as we do the blessings of a free Government, there is no man who has an American heart who would not rejoice to see these blessings extended to all other nations. We cannot witness the struggle between the oppressed and his oppressor anywhere without the deepest sympathy for the former, and the most anxious desire for his triumph. Nevertheless, is it prudent or is it wise to involve ourselves in these foreign wars? Is it, indeed, true that we have heretofore refrained from doing so merely from the degrading motive of a conscious weakness? For the honour of the patriots who have gone before us, I cannot admit it. Men of the Revolution, who drew the sword against the oppressions of the mother country, and pledged to Heaven 'their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour' to maintain their freedom, could never have been actuated by so unworthy a motive. They knew no weakness or fear where right or duty pointed their way, and it is a libel upon their fair fame for us, while we enjoy the blessings for which they so nobly fought and bled, to insinuate it. The truth is, that the course which they pursued was dictated by a stern sense of international justice, by a statesmanlike prudence, and a far-seeing wisdom, looking not merely to the present necessities, but to the permanent safety and interest of the country. They knew that the world is governed less by sympathy than by reason and force; that it was not possible for this nation to become a 'propagandist' of free principles without arraying against it the combined Powers of Europe; and that the result was more likely to be the overthrow of republican liberty here than its establishment there. History has been written in vain for those who can doubt this. France had no sooner established a republican form of Government than she manifested a desire to force its blessings on all the world. Her own historian informs us that, hearing of some petty acts of tyranny in a neighbouring principality, 'The National Convention declared that she would afford a succour and fraternity to all nations who wished to recover their liberty; and she gave it in charge to the Executive power to give orders to the Generals of the French armies to aid all citizens who might have been, or should be oppressed in the cause of liberty.' Here was the false step which led to her subsequent misfortunes. She soon found herself involved in war with all the rest of Europe. In less than ten years her government was changed from a republic to an empire; and finally, after shedding rivers of blood, foreign Powers restored her exiled dynasty, and exhausted Europe sought peace and repose in the unquestioned ascendancy of monarchical principles. Let us learn wisdom from her example. Let us remember that revolutions do not always establish freedom. Our own free institutions were not the offspring of our Revolution. They existed before. They were planted in the free charters of self-government under which the English colonies grew up, and our Revolution only freed us from the dominion of a foreign Power, whose Government was at variance with those institutions. But European nations have had no such training for self-government, and every effort to establish it by bloody revolutions has been, and

must, without that preparation, continue to be a failure. Liberty, unregulated by law, degenerates into anarchy, which soon becomes the most horrid of all despotisms. Our policy is wisely to govern ourselves, and thereby to set such an example of national justice, prosperity, and true glory, as shall teach to all nations the blessings of self-government, and the unparalleled enterprise and success of a free people."

Enlarging on the great prosperity of the country, Mr. Fillmore strenuously recommends his countrymen to persevere in the old course of internal improvement, the promotion of internal commerce, and the protection of home industry.

"It is not strange, however much it may be regretted, that such an exuberance of enterprise should cause some individuals to mistake change for progress, and the invasion of the rights of others for national prowess and glory. The former are constantly agitating for some change in the organic law, or urging new and untried theories of human rights. The latter are ever ready to engage in any wild crusade against a neighbouring people, regardless of the justness of the enterprise, and without looking at the fatal consequences to ourselves and to the cause of popular government. Such expeditions, however, are often stimulated by mercenary individuals, who expect to share the plunder or profit of the enterprise without exposing themselves to danger, and are led on by some irresponsible foreigner, who abuses the hospitality of our own Government by seducing the young and ignorant to join in his scheme of personal ambition or revenge, under the false and delusive pretence of extending the area of freedom. These reprehensible aggressions both retard the true progress of our nation, and tarnish its fair fame. They should, therefore, receive the indignant frown of every good citizen who sincerely loves his country and takes a pride in its prosperity and honour.

"Our Constitution, though not perfect, is doubtless the best that ever was formed. Therefore, let every proposition to change it be well weighed, and, if found beneficial, cautiously adopted. Every patriot will rejoice to see its authority so exerted as to advance the prosperity and honour of the nation, while he will watch with jealousy any attempt to mutilate this charter of our liberties, or pervert its powers to acts of aggression or injustice. Thus shall Conservatism and progress blend their harmonious action in preserving the form and spirit of the Constitution, and, at the same time, carry forward the great improvements of the country with a rapidity and energy which freemen only can display."

Mr. Fillmore closes his Message with congratulations on the prosperous condition of the nation, and an expression of devout gratitude that he retires from office, having discharged its duties to the best of his ability, and leaves the country in a state of peace and prosperity.

THE CUBAN SLAVE TRADE.

SPAIN does not fulfil her engagements respecting the suppression of the slave trade. This has long been more than suspected; and it is now clearly proved. Letters from Havana, both in the American and the English press, furnish evidence of this which cannot be doubted. At Baltimore, this summer, a clipper was built for the trade; and she arrived at Mariel on the 15th, and was delivered to the Spaniards on the 16th of November, at Bathia Honda, Cuba, in sight of the Spanish men of war. Two schooners from the port of Havana delivered her kidnapping munitions and equipments on the 16th, and the same evening she received by the Spanish trading steamer, Tevena, from Havana, her "expedition crew" of 70 men, which could not have been accomplished without the knowledge of the supreme authority. In addition, she received by the same means of transportation, that could not be concealed from those who have surveillance of such things, 16 guns and equipments, 12 pounders, 150 stands of small arms, 150 cutlasses, and 150 brace of pistols. She goes out under the command of the notorious Eugenio Vinas, whose chief boastful exploit, which he expatiates upon in our very refined circles, was in the murder of the crew and officer of an English boarding boat, some two years since, when running down the coast to make one of the factories. The ship Lady Suffolk was sold to Julian Zulueta, for the sum of 28,000 dollars, and it is stated that the Queen Mother is interested in the voyage, which we derive from the acknowledgments, acts, and advances of her agent here. The words "Lady Suffolk" were painted on the stern, but they will probably be erased with the scraper and painted over. She was towed to sea at night, on the 22nd, some 30 miles from the coast, to give her good offing from the English war steamers now cruising in this vicinity. The steamer *Serena* brought up from the pirate ship *Lady Suffolk* the late officers and crew, consisting of Captain Gray and his son, chief mate, 11 crew, cook, and steward; one seaman, an Italian, Nicholas Francisco, preferring to remain with the pirate. Since arrival in Havana, Captain Gray and his son have been arrested and thrown into prison, in order to cover the exposure made of complicity in the transaction of iniquity of those in the highest places; while with full knowledge of every step, from arrival on the coast of the ship *Lady Suffolk*, good care was taken not to move in the matter until all the Spaniards

implicated were out of reach, and then, if possible, make the Yankee bear the sin of their commission. Within twelve months nearly five thousand slaves have been landed in Cuba; under the guns of the Spanish ships. A correspondent of the *New York Herald* suggests that the British war steamers lately seen off the island, are cruising there for the purpose of capturing some of these ventures. Under the command of General Concha, the slave trade declined; and that of Cafiado it has become brisk and profitable. The sympathy of Spain is beyond a doubt, and her government ought to be brought to reason.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LII.

Paris, December 31, 1852.

THE course of Bonaparte is very far from running as smoothly as many superficial people imagine. As to the Emperor himself, he is quite awake to the truth of his position. He finds it extremely false and dangerous. The following facts attest it. The Legitimist party, *en masse*, is hostile. All the old noblesse de race stand aloof in sullen contempt, and will have nothing to say to this parvenu. Self-banished to their estates and châteaux, they maintain the most absolute reserve. All these *gentilshommes* who erewhile would have disdained to cast a regard upon the "common people" (*des vilains*), are now living patriarchally in their villages. They affect an affability unexampled; they chat with their peasantry, and seek by every device to conquer their affection. For this, they have reduced their rents a third; instead of insisting on rigorous payment to the day, they display a facility of accommodation, and a *bonhomie* of manner, equally conspicuous and delightful,—nay, they even go so far as to lend money to their peasants who are in want, and at an interest quite insignificant. These tactics, pursued with a perfect *ensemble* throughout the entire country, are extremely well devised, and can scarcely fail to restore the hearts of the peasantry to their ancient lords.

In this state of things, Bonaparte, with all his mayors nominated by himself, is utterly powerless. All his movements are paralyzed; all his acts distorted and discoloured to his prejudice. Even his better intentions are sedulously misinterpreted and indefatigably misrepresented.

Then, with regard to the Orleanists. Let it be at once confessed that the *bourgeoisie* of town and country alike, are Orleanist to a man. Murdered with grape shot in December, crushed in January by decrees of confiscation, struck to the heart by the loss of parliamentary government, which, be it remembered, was in France nothing more than the government of the *bourgeoisie*,* the middle class is manifestly and incurably hostile. The Civil list of a million sterling, which Bonaparte has just obtained from the Senate, has produced a disastrous effect: all France over, there is but one cry, though the intonations vary. Some exclaim against the pillage of the public fortune, others denounce the ambition; but all, even the most confiding and the most blinded, are forced to open their eyes. There remain the men of the Bourse! You know all that Bonaparte has done to gain, or rather to gorge, this interesting class of the population. His plan was this: to win over to his side all the stock-jobbers, all the bankers, all the men of the Bourse; to create, by their means, a fictitious movement; to impose upon outsiders by this false prosperity; to rally all the interests of commerce to his own, and so to gain the whole *bourgeoisie*. This plan, it must be said, has been followed with persevering skill. I have kept you informed about all the operations in this direction. Accordingly, Bonaparte has spared no effort to get reconciled with Rothschild: it is for the great financier that the trip to Compiègne was expressly designed. Rothschild and his wife were the only persons admitted into the Imperial carriage; they alone of all the party, not attached to the Imperial court, are invited to put up at the chateau, and to pass a week in residence. This is not all. Th

* For the consolation of our correspondent, let us assure him that we have not advanced beyond this stage, even in our own classic land of Parliamentarism. Nor, under doctrinaire coalitions, however "conservatively progressive," as the cant of the day goes, do we seem likely to get beyond the "government of the middle classes," which we reached in 1832. Indeed, it may be said, without prejudice to the honesty and the eminent practical services of the Manchester School—whose triumph is still distant—that even that pushing sect of politicians would be loth to supersede a machinery which they can only desire to extend to the limits of their own field of influence and control. The time has not yet arrived when the great working class of England can be said to feel any very lively interest in Parliamentary government, as it reveals itself through the mysteries of the Carlton and the Reform, the agencies of Right "Reckless" W. B.s, and the disorganized feebledness of the House of Frail and Coppock.—Ed. Leader.

Charivari, for want, I suppose, of other topics, had taken the liberty to caricature the "stags" of the Bourse. The editors have been summoned and recommended to restrain their pens and pencils on the subject. The dramatic authors, too, have been warned to desist from all attacking or ridiculing in their Christmas extravaganzas (*réveuses de fin d'année*) the successes of "stags" and stock-jobbers.† They are forbidden, moreover, to joke about the immense jobbery (*tripotages*) which the macadamization of the streets, the demolition of houses for the continuation (*perfectionnement*) of the boulevard de Rivoli, and the ornamental landscape embellishments of the Bois de Boulogne, have supplied for amusement. Well! believe me, of all these men of business whom Bonaparte has gorged and courted, and flattered upon, not one renders him a word or thought of thanks. "It won't last long," they say; "let us make the most of it." And thus their gratitude points the moral of the tale.

Respecting foreign powers, with the exception of your own Queen, who, it is maliciously whispered here, autographically addressed our Bonaparte as "*My dear cousin*,"‡ they all look coldly on our new Emperor. The three Northern powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, do not care to dissemble their profound contempt. Bonaparte's representatives abroad are everywhere repulsed. At Berlin, the high dignitaries of State refused to comply with the invitation of the French ambassador to assist at the *Te Deum* chanted in honour of the Empire. M. D'Arnim is reported to have said *adropos* of this rebuff, "They were quite right to decline, for it was not an event to congratulate God upon!" ("*Car il n'y avait pas de quoi féliciter Dieu.*")

Bonaparte is much irritated by all these successive affronts. The rupture of his marriage with the Princess Wassa, the disdain of Austria, the contumely of Prussia, the insolent airs of Russia, are not encouraging. A few days since, he said to General Magnan: "Those people treat me like a fireman whom you call into a drawing-room to put out a fire, and never condescend to speak to us soon as the fire is put out."

In this false position our Emperor is considerably embarrassed. Hence it was averred that he was endeavouring to negotiate a coalition (*rapprochement*) with the republican party. He had sent for M. Carnot (so went the report), who, you remember, was elected deputy to the Legislature, and resigned on refusal to take the oaths. It is asserted that the Emperor said to M. Carnot that he knew well that he had no reliance to place in the monarchical parties, that he had been obliged to appear to lean upon them, but that, *en résumé*, in the march of progressive innovations which he had traced out for his policy, he could expect from the royalists nothing but resistance." He then proceeded to ask his interlocutor "whether he was prepared to join him" (*s'il était prêt de venir à lui*). M. Carnot replied by a strong and simple negative, as you may well suppose.

Even the Senate shows symptoms of restiveness. All last week was employed by the Commission of the Senate in discussing the Draft *Senatus-Consultum* modifying the Constitution, and in proposing to Bonaparte amendment on amendment. There were six against the *Senatus-Consultum* and four in its favour. The Commissioners were positively determined upon reserving to the Senate the right of control over all the acts of Bonaparte. They claimed to vote all the items of expenditure for great public works before their execution; they insisted, besides, that all treaties of commerce should be submitted to their approval. There have been five long days of negotiation between the Luxembourg (palace of the Senate) and the Tuileries (palace of Bonaparte). The Emperor had arranged to start last Thursday morning for Compiègne; orders were given; all was in readiness. The obstinate resistance of the Senate compelled him to defer his departure. Nothing less than violent threats was able to overcome this opposition. Bonaparte refused to yield on a single point,—first, because his omnipotence was in question; secondly, because he apprehended that if at the outset of his reign he began to yield, it would be an encouragement to the opposition which was already in formation, even among his creatures. It was only, then, through the menacing intervention of M. Baroche that two senators were intimidated into compliance, and the majority of six against four converted in favour of the original Draft of the *Senatus-Consultum*. To-day (Tuesday), the Senate is to assemble for the purpose of passing the measure. No doubt the Corps will vote its master's behests unanimously. It is M. Troplong again who is charged with making the Report. He has been rewarded beforehand. Bonaparte has just made him President of the Court of Cassation.

Discord reigns in the Bonapartist camp. Persigny has quarrelled with Fould. M. Fould, you know, is a banker; an adroit, shrewd, keen man, who knows the weak side of Bonaparte. It is he who traced the path to be pursued in order to win over the men of the Bourse. He did more: he placed himself at their head, and from his prolific brain have sprung those thousands of schemes which would require millions on millions to execute. His exceptional position at the head of the banking world gained him the confidence of Bonaparte, who is indebted to his services for probably not less than thirty millions of francs (1,200,000*l.*), bagged in the last twelve months. No wonder, then, Bonaparte made him Minister of State. Now, this position, strictly confidential in its character, belonged of right to Persigny. The latter became jealous, and in a sudden ebullition, made a "scene," which is now in everybody's mouth. In the Council of Ministers, Persigny openly accused M. Fould of being sustained by a *bourgeoisie* notoriously alien in sympathies to the Empire. M. Fould replied, "that, for his part, he was essentially a man of the middle class (*qu'il était très bourgeois*), and very little disposed to rely on the peasantry for support. Bonaparte had great difficulty in appeasing this quarrel. It has since broken out again with more bitter virulence than ever. Persigny has renewed his attacks on M. Fould, even going so far as to accuse him of *treason*. He reproaches him for "surrounding the Emperor exclusively with disaffected *bourgeois*." At these words M. Fould lost his temper, and the council split into two warring cliques. So stands the quarrel as I write. But it cannot fail to grow more envenomed. Hence all the rumours of a change of ministry, which have been current these last days, and which have derived a certain authenticity from the denial of the *Moniteur*. The resistance of Persigny, who is resolved to stick to the Ministry of the Interior, in order the better to watch the enemies of the Emperor, has alone prevented the change. Indeed, the situation is a grave one. If Fould goes, the banking world turns its back on Bonaparte, and Persigny falls into disgrace. Persigny being the life and soul of Bonapartism, the house of cards, laboriously built up by his hands, will tumble to pieces at the slightest breath. There remains but one course for Bonaparte to choose. It is to keep them both. He will appease Persigny by allowing him to share profits with Fould in some monstrous speculation, and all will be right! *La belle chose que la puissance de l'or sur les hommes d'argent!*

The Funds have been rising a little for the last few days. There is, however, a sort of cabal in operation against the Banque Mobilière. The rival concern of Espeleta and Co. is in operation. The subscriptions were presented at the Bourse: in the first hour there were eighteen millions (of francs) subscribed, and by the evening, the subscriptions had reached the fabulous sum of seventy-five millions (of francs). This fact, it is said, made Bonaparte open his eyes to the urgency of recovering Rothschild at any price.

Another formidable business is much talked of at this moment, which would bring in millions, in the shape of premiums, to Bonaparte and his intimates, and would proportionately swindle the crowd of gaping fools out of their investments. The project consists in founding an "Algeria Company" (*Compagnie d'Algérie*), on the model of your own East India Company. This company is to be constituted with a capital of forty millions sterling, to have sovereignty over the whole of Algeria, to be the proprietary of the soil, and

to enjoy immense privileges. This affair is, for the present, kept in the profoundest secrecy; but one of these days it will see the light.

In France, the régime continues unchanged. Village wineshops (cabarets) are closed, and provincial journals are "warned." To be a journalist, you must worship every act of Power. The *Moniteur*, in fact, is almost the only journal that can really be said to exist. It is the only journal *free*. "Free," perhaps even it cannot be called, for it is not free to tell the truth. It registers contradictions every day; and the contradictions are contradicted in turn by the morrow's events. An official notice that lately appeared in its columns, in which the Government protested against the denomination of "proscribed," as applied to the exiles, caused a good deal of remark. The Government pleaded "legality." "All the sentences pronounced after the 2nd of December," it exclaims, "are stamped with the character of legality, since the military commissions that followed the state of siege were rendered imperative by the grand law of the safety of the country." This law of public safety, elevated to the rank of legality, strikes everybody as a capital stroke of buffoonery.

There has just appeared a book, dictated by the Elysée, which has created an immense sensation. This book is entitled, "On the Limits of the Empire" (*Des Limites de l'Empire*). It has been exempted from the stamp duty—a fact in itself significant enough. The author, M. Le Masson, pretends to prove from history that the limits of France are the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Alps. Consequently, he demands the incorporation of Savoy, Piedmont, and Belgium, in the name of the safety and peace of France. This book is a pilot-balloon; it is a harbinger and a signal. Remember that one year before the Empire, Bonaparte dictated to M. Descamps a book "On the Re-establishment of the Empire," and made M. Bonieau write "The Era of the Caesars." S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The recognition of the Empire has not been so precipitate an affair with the States of the Confederation as with the Neapolitan Government and our ex-Foreign Secretary. With one or two exceptions, such as Frankfurt, the States hang back till they get the cue from St. Petersburg. The official journal of Wurtemberg, the *Staats Anzeiger*, publishes a formal contradiction of the *Moniteur's* announcement, that the Government of Wurtemberg had congratulated the Duc de Guiche on the proclamation of the Empire. The Pope, too, delays sending his credentials to his nuncio at Paris.

The ceremony of proclaiming the Empire at Algiers went off bravely on the 12th. The Prefect read the proclamation; the Bishop, with his clergy, raised the *Te Deum*; the batteries struck in with a salvo; and the troops shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" There was a dinner at the Governor-General's; and in the evening a ball was given by the superior Commandant of the Marine.

Any portion of the Orleans property not sold before the 22nd of January is to be confiscated or sequestered. Amongst that property is the forest of Guise, belonging to the Duke d'Anmale, and valued at thirty-five millions of francs; and as it is difficult to find a purchaser for an estate of such magnitude, a company was formed to effect the bargain. But this the Government refuses to sanction; so that, after all, it may gain its object by the indirect means of shutting out a purchaser. The collection of pictures belonging to the Duchess of Orleans is advertised for sale among the other property.

General Chadeysson has demanded of the Council of State that a decision of the Prince President, dated last December, should be revoked. The General having refused the command of the Basses-Alpes, then in a state of insurrection, was placed on the retired list, in violation of a law which enacts that generals of brigade shall only be so placed at the age of 62. General Chadeysson's age is only 56; but because he has served thirty-eight years, of which twenty have been in war, his demand was rejected in virtue of another law, which gives the Government power to place generals on the retired list after they have been thirty years in service.

The hunt at Compiègne passed off well on Monday, the weather being fine. At the breakfast, several ladies, and amongst them Madame Drouyn de Lhuys, wore official riding habits of green and gold. The dinner took place at five, and at eight the *curée* was effected in the courtyard, by torchlight, when a great many spectators were allowed to be present.

The Mediterranean squadron of evolution returned to Toulon on the 19th.

Abd-el-Kader has sailed for Turkey.

Mr. Bower, whose name has been so often before the public in connexion with the death of Mr. Morton, has surrendered to the French authorities, and is now a prisoner at the Conciergerie. The trial is fixed for the 28th of December.

We read in the *Suisse de Berne* that the Prefect of that city had summoned before him all the booksellers of the place, to inquire of them whether they had sold any copies of Victor Hugo's *Napoleon le Petit*, and from whom they had received them. This proceeding, it is said, took place on the demand of the French ambassador.

The docks at Dunkirk are the scene of extensive operations. Not only is the harbour to be enlarged, and the establishments of the Marine greatly increased, but it is intended to place the railway station in the park of the Marine, and to construct a new basin to the east of the

* These "*Réveuses*," for which the Palais Royal, Variétés, and Porte St. Martin are principally distinguished, close the year, as our Christmas pantomimes and extravaganzas do. They are, however, not seldom very dull affairs, and only carried off by *mise en scène* and attractive scarcity of dress on the part of the lighter portion of the *corps dramatique*. They bear, indeed, no comparison with our pantomimes, but occasional Aristophanic gleams irradiating the slang of "Breda-square" and the Quartier Latin, render these *Réveuses* far more endurable than those periodical assaults on the English language, which are known to London as burlesques and extravaganzas.—Ed. Leader.

† We suppose *Mercadet* is forbidden at the *Gymnase*. Fancy *The Game of Speculation* being interdicted at the *Lycée*, when the next mania (rapidly approaching) arrives.—Ed. Leader.

‡ Of course this is incredible: even with our recently discharged French Cook, whose qualities Lord Derby has so vividly eulogized, performing the part of "England."—Ed. Leader.

§ The reports of this incident in the correspondence of the *Times* and *Morning Chronicle*, mention M. Bethmont as the person to whom these overtures were directly made by the Emperor in person. M. Bethmont, it may be remembered, was, for a short time only, member of the Provisional Government in the first days of the Republic, and represented the Lamartine nuance in that body. M. Carnot, the Minister of Public Instruction in the Provisional Government, belonged to a more extreme section of opinions, with a certain doctrinaire cast. His historical name may possibly have appealed to the sympathies, or rather to the traditional springs, of the nephew Emperor.—Ed. Leader.

present port, and in front of the commercial basin, the use of which will be reserved exclusively for the steamers belonging to the State.

The new law on the press was passed by the Belgian Senate on Thursday, the 16th inst., by thirty against nine votes.

On Wednesday and Thursday in last week, the anniversary of the birthday of the King of the Belgians was celebrated with rejoicings at Brussels.

In the course of the discussion on the credits demanded for the Minister of War in the Belgian Chamber, M. Thieffry spoke against the employment in the Belgian army of French officers who have not obtained letters of naturalization. The Minister of War replied that the number of French officers now in the Belgian service is only twenty-seven, of whom five have applied for letters of naturalization.

The visit of the young Emperor of Austria to the King of Prussia, at this juncture of European politics, is regarded as a political event of the highest importance. Francis Joseph is the first Austrian Emperor that has ever visited the house of Hohenzollern at Berlin. The political estrangement, almost to the brink of hostilities, of the two great northern powers in 1849, the subsequent commercial rivalries in the Zollverein question, are all forgotten in the paramount urgency of a strong alliance against eventual Napoleonic pretensions. We are not surprised to hear that the young Emperor, with his soldier-like and energetic bearing and comely presence, has been received with almost equal favour and distinction by the court and the citizens of Berlin. The Emperor arrived at Berlin on the 17th inst., accompanied by the King, who had gone nearly to the Saxon frontier to meet his guest. He was accompanied by his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, and a brilliant suite. They drove straight from the Anhalt Railway terminus to Charlottenburg. On the following day they entered Berlin in state, by the Brandenburg gate, under a salute of 101 guns, and afterwards (it being the Emperor of Russia's birthday) reviewed the garrison, which was under arms and drawn up in the Lime-tree Avenue. The Emperor had the good taste to salute the statue of Frederick the Great, the old enemy of the Imperial house. Not long before the Emperor's visit, the Baron von Bruck had arrived as plenipotentiary to smooth away the commercial differences between the two cabinets, and to prepare the way for a treaty, to be carried out either simultaneously with or subsequent to the renewal of the Zollverein. The renewal of the Zollverein will be for twelve years; it will include Hanover, and will not include, but concert with, Austria on a liberal commercial basis. In the evening, after the review, at which the King wore an Austrian, and the Emperor a Prussian uniform, there was a grand banquet at the Palace, at which the King of Prussia, as usual, convivially distinguished himself; and a visit to the Opera. The next day the King received the Emperor *en famille* at Potsdam, where the King of Hanover joined the circle. On Tuesday the Emperor was to take his departure for Vienna. The Prince of Prussia arrived from the Rhine to take part in the festivities. M. von Manteuffel had a private audience of the Emperor. It should be added that the Emperor had visited Dresden on his way to Berlin.

Prince Murat arrived at Düsseldorf on the 15th, from Cologne, and went to the Château de Dyck with the Prince de Salm Dyck. It is stated that the Grand Duchess Stephanie will not leave Düsseldorf for Paris sooner than in six weeks.

The *Official Gazette* of Dresden confirms the news of the approaching marriage of Prince Albert of Saxony with the Princess Carola Wasa. Prince Frederick Augustus Albert of Saxony is the eldest son of Prince John, the King of Saxony's brother, and presumptive heir to the throne. Prince Albert is consequently nephew of the King of Saxony, and destined to reign in his turn. The young prince's mother is the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, sister of the Archduchess Sophia, mother of the present Emperor of Austria.

The Grand Duchess Stephanie left Coblenz on the 15th for Düsseldorf, on her way to Paris.

The *Posen Gazette* states from Warsaw, that the Emperor of Russia has it in contemplation to abolish generally in his dominions the punishment of the knout, which is to be preserved only in the army.

The resignation of General Urquiza, the late Minister of War, the refusal of any but the most insignificant persons to fill the vacancy, and the rejection by the Queen of the two names proposed by Bravo Murillo for the office, coupled with the determined attitude of all sections of the constitutional opposition from Narvaiz to Olazaga, have led to the dissolution of the ministry of the *coup d'état* in Spain. The new Ministry, under the Presidency of General Roncalli, who also takes the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, comprises no eminent names. Count Mirasol, the new Minister of Marine, is known in London in connexion with an apologetic mission from the Due de Sotomayor to Lord Palmerston, in 1848, after the expulsion of Sir Henry Bulwer from Madrid. The new Ministers took the oaths of office on the night of the 14th inst. in presence of the Queen. It was generally believed that their policy would be legal, and that the Cortes would be summoned before next March. The Progressista address was printed on the 15th, and distributed far and wide on that and the following day. The document concludes thus:—"The question which is to be decided in the next Cortes, convoked for the 1st of March, is one of life and death. On its result depends the loss or salvation of all the rights that you have recovered, of all the conquests obtained by liberal principles in half a century of sanguinary struggles and painful sufferings. Union, electors, union among all men who belong to the great constitutional party, without distinctions or rivalries. Whoever may be the deputy whom you send to the Congress, take care that he be firmly resolved to oppose by legal means the projects of reform recently published. The nation confides its destinies to your firmness,

to your independence, to your patriotism." This address was signed by fifty Progressista notabilities.

By a recent royal decree, all merchandise coming into Spain in Spanish bottoms from Gibraltar, Portugal, Algeria, and the ports between the Gironde, inclusively, and the Bidasoa, and from the frontier limit between Spain and France to Marseilles inclusively, shall only pay the duties fixed by the customs' tariff for the native flag. By the decree of July 9, 1841, which is now revoked, merchandise from the points enumerated was subject to an increased rate of duty.

The new Spanish Ministry has cancelled the proceedings against the three journals which published the Progressista address, and has deprived of his functions the governor of the province who had ordered the prosecution. This looks like a change of measures with the change of men.

Imperial murders still desolate Italy.

The *Gazzetta del Popolo* adds to its recent account of the executions in Mantua particulars of the atrocious manner in which the trials were conducted, and also of the horrible devices to prolong the death-pains of the victims. From other sources the account is substantiated. The priest Tazzoli was whipped twelve times during his trial, with the vain endeavour to extort confession, and a few incoherent words wrung from him, and from the other four who were executed with him, were the foundation of the barbarous sentence. Another fact in this most atrocious drama is, that the other political prisoners were carried before the presiding judges, and interrogated, at the moment of the execution of the victims, and within hearing of what was going on, in the hope that thus, under the appalling impression of the fate of their brothers, answers might be more easily obtained in conformity with the purpose of the imperial executors.

The *Corriere Mercantile* states from Florence, 13th inst., that Madame Madiati has been ill for some days past, and that the Grand Duchesses, moved by her miserable state, have exercised their influence to exhort her to return to the Catholic religion, hoping thus to obtain her liberation from the Grand Duke. It is added that hitherto they have been unsuccessful.

ABD-EL-KADER TO LORD LONDONDERRY.

THE grateful Arab has sent the following letter to his staunch friend:—

"Thanks to the only true God. His Excellency, Lord Marquis of Londonderry, the Irish General—peace be with you! Know that the commandant, Boissonet, has communicated to me your letter. You are, indeed, a man of a good heart, and it was you who kindly visited me at Amboise, and it is quite one of the impossibilities that we should forget your visit and your bounty; for a cherif is he who 'never forgets the good done, and does not recollect the evil.' The Emperor Napoleon has set me free; may God prolong his life in the empire, and increase him in victory. I shall remain obliged to him to the end of my life, and my children after me will inherit my gratitude to him. I cannot visit you in your country because my departure is at hand, and my mother is old and infirm, and I cannot leave her. May God increase your good, and be gracious to you: and peace be with you. This is from your friend, ABD-EL-KADER. Mohammed il Deen. Dated the 8th, last day of Safar, 1269."

A RIVAL TO THE "MELBOURNE."

LAST week we were glad to record the safe arrival of the *Melbourne* Steamer at St. Vincent's. The fact of this ocean steamer carrying her Majesty's mails having at last accomplished the distance from Lisbon to St. Vincent's without any fresh disasters, was ostentatiously chronicled as an evidence of the injustice of the aspersions to which the R. A. M. S. S. Company had been exposed by passengers who had nothing to complain of but a little danger and much discomfort, a few weeks' detention, loss of money, clothes, health, and patience.

But this Company is resolved not to lose its character for punctuality and efficiency. It aspires to become proverbial. On the 26th of last month the *Adelaide*, a steamer destined to make us forget the *Melbourne*, was launched amidst ovations from the yard of Mr. Scott Russell. She was ready for sea, and lost no time in making a successful passage to Plymouth. Let us see how faithfully she has copied her predecessor in her subsequent performances. We subjoin extracts from the letter of a passenger, who was also on board the *Melbourne* on her passage to Lisbon. We beg all our readers who deem it an advantage to take passage in a ship privileged to carry her Majesty's mails, to pay special attention to the following brief narrative.

Plymouth, December 20th.

"I can send you a little more information with regard to the R. A. M. S. S. Company. Their new ship, the *Adelaide*, 2000 tons, 450 horse-power, A 1 at Lloyd's, left Plymouth on Saturday, the 18th instant, only a week behind her time. She had no sooner put out to sea and passed the Eddystone, than it was found that her hawse pipes were defective, and that she was making water at the rate of a ton per minute. One of the water-tight compartments was said to be full. Had we been far from land, or in a gale, the opinion generally is, that we should have gone down. In this state the ship would not steer, and it has now been discovered that her rudder was three feet too short."

We forbear to add other reports that have reached us about the *Adelaide*. Subsequent accounts speak of her in charge of two tugs struggling up Hamoaze, and

obstinately refusing to steer; and finally, we are informed that she has been got into dock, and is not expected out before next Tuesday, just ten days since she sailed, and seventeen days since she was announced to sail from Plymouth, although desperate efforts were being made to get her out by to-day. If the Admiralty and the Company are satisfied, what right have passengers to complain?

THE CHURCH TAX-GATHERING.

PUSEYISM looks ugly when it interferes with "the local administration of taxation upon the representative principle." On Tuesday there was a meeting of the ratepayers of St. Anne's, Westminster, to strike a rate for church repairs, and to cover deficiencies in the fund set apart for the ordinary service.

The Reverend Nugent Wade presided. The report of the committee showed that for the repairs 120*l.*, and for other expenses 110*l.*, would be required, and a penny rate was recommended as adequate to this outlay. Mr. Cooper, surgeon, moved that a halfpenny rate be granted, and was expressing his regret that the innovations of the rector had reduced them from a state of independence to the necessity of recurring to a rate which would strike their nonconformist fellow-parishioners, when he was interrupted by the rector, who said he would tolerate no animadversions of that nature, but would adjourn the meeting were they not suspended. Mr. Cooper, resuming, observed that it was most pertinent to remark that the conduct of the rector was precisely the cause of their difficulties. Here the rector again interfered, amidst much uproar, but Mr. Cooper went on, and concluded by moving that half the sum demanded be granted. Mr. Marshall seconded the motion. An amendment for adjourning the question, and another for granting the entire penny, were rejected, and Mr. Cooper's resolution was carried, after Mr. George, the senior churchwarden, had explained that the result of the practices introduced by the rector into the parish was that the rental had been diminished from between 500*l.* and 600*l.* to one-tenth of that amount, and as the parishioners continued to desert the church for neighbouring churches, they must look for a church-rate every year in future. This simple narrative tells its own tale of discord in the church. You see the ecclesiastical system, by law established, makes inroads upon the property of its professors; and then it levies a rate, and invades the conscience of those who are not its professors, to make up the difference!

AMERICAN NOTES.

MR. THACKERAY's lecture on Hogarth, Smollett, and Fielding was heard with as much applause as the previous lectures by an audience composed of the best society in New York. The reporter in the *Tribune* says, that no former lecture elicited more enthusiastic admiration than the portion of this devoted to Fielding.

The foreign contributions to the Crystal Palace in New York are very numerous and valuable. Many are of high merit in the department of the Fine Arts. Among these may be mentioned the Bashful Beggar, a veiled statue by Monti, the Milanese sculptor. The day fixed for the opening of the Exhibition is the 1st of May, 1853.

Thomas Francis Meagher delivered a lecture on the Rise and Progress of the colony of New South Wales, in the Metropolitan Hall of New York, on Thursday evening, November 25th. The audience was crowded to "the utmost capacity" of the Hall, says the *Tribune*. Mr. Meagher received as the net proceeds of the lecture, (after deducting the expenses of hiring the hall, advertising, &c.) 1652 dollars. This is the largest sum ever paid in America for a single lecture, according to the *Tribune*.

A circumstance of interest to both the New and Old World is occupying some attention in the United States at the present time. This is the question of the settlement in America of the lineal descendant of Amerigo Vespucci and his family, on a grant of land from the Government of the States. The matter has been brought before the public, by letters in the *New York Tribune*, from Mr. Bagard Taylor and Mr. C. Edwards Lester. The former gentleman having advisedly or carelessly accused the latter of appropriating an authentic portrait of Amerigo Vespucci, by Bronzino, which had been only entrusted to his care by the living representative of the great geographer and navigator, who had destined it as a present to the Government of the States, Mr. E. Lester quotes a letter from his friend, Signor Vespucci, of Florence, wherein the picture is clearly mentioned as a gift to him personally. Mr. Lester proves also his own intention of presenting this valuable picture to Congress, and the efforts he has made to represent the claims of the impoverished family of Vespucci, on the land which is called after his name.

A correspondent of the *Boston Journal* writes a letter from London, describing a visit paid by him to Kossuth, on the 11th of November. The object of this letter is to prove that Kossuth is *not* living extravagantly on the money raised by him in America for the furtherance of the Hungarian cause. We should have thought Kossuth's character required no such defence at the hands of American or European. His most violent political opponents cannot hope to make their own cause better by affecting to consider him capable of a low theft.

Mr. Peter Cooper, a well-known merchant of New York, has given 300,000 dollars towards building and endowing an institution devoted to the study of the arts and sciences; to reading lectures, debates, and generally, to the improvement of the young. The characteristic of the plan is, that a hall will be set apart for the use of women who desire to discuss or study the application of science for their own benefit; also, a prize of 5000 dollars to be given to the woman who has shown the truest heroism in the cause of the suffering portion of mankind.

The works of the railway across the Isthmus of Panama are in such a state of forwardness, that it is expected they will be complete from ocean to ocean by the 1st of September, 1853.

NEW TELEGRAPH LINES ON THE CONTINENT.

THE lines of electric telegraph, which have just been completed in the Netherlands, connect the following places:—Amsterdam, Breda, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Dordrecht, La Haye; which are now for the first time in electric communication with Great Britain, by means of the submarine wires.

The following cities and towns, with others of lesser note, are also in communication with the offices in Cornhill:—Agram, Aix-la-Chapelle, Amiens, Antwerp, Augsburg, Avignon, Baden, Berlin, Bonn, Bordeaux, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bremen, Breslau, Bruges, Brunswick, Brussels, Calais, Cassel, Coblenz, Cologne, Cracow, Dantzic, Dieppe, Dijon, Dresden, Dunkirk, Dusseldorf, Florence, Frankfurt-on-Maine, Friburg, Ghent, Gotha, Hamburg, Hanover, Havre, Kehl, Strasbourg, Konigsburg, Leghorn, Leipzig, Lemberg, Lisle, Luca, Lyons, Metz, Magdeburg, Malines, Mannheim, Mantua, Mayence, Milan, Munich, Modena, Nantes, Nuremberg, Ostend, Padua, Paris, Pesth, Bude, Posen, Prague, Prgsburg, Parma, Rouen, St. Omer, Stettin, Stuttgart, Strasbourg, Trieste, Venice, Verona, Vienna, Weimar. Marseilles will be connected in a few weeks.

CRIMINAL AND POLICE NOTES.

THE legislative affray in Cockspur-street has come to an end. On Tuesday, after the Middlesex grand jury had been discharged, Mr. Huddleston said,—My lord, perhaps I may be permitted to trespass on your time for a few minutes, as I wish to make an application to the Court. I believe that the grand jury have been discharged, and I have to apply, on the part of the Hon. Mr. H. Butler Johnstone, that the recognizances of himself, and of his two friends, Viscount Drumlanrig and Mr. Stirling, may be discharged. Mr. Johnstone was bound over to appear at this session to answer a charge of assault; but the matter, I believe I can say, has been amicably and privately arranged through the intervention of mutual friends of both parties in a satisfactory manner. The Assistant-judge granted the application, and said,—I am very happy to hear that it has been settled in a manner that gentlemen always ought to arrange such differences in. This is as it ought to be between gentlemen; the sooner it is done, and the more privately the matter is arranged, the better.

Alfred Waddington wooed and won Sarah Slater, of Sheffield. They did not marry, but a child was born. Waddington had to pay for this child: he offered to marry Sarah, but she refused, because he was not sober; and he then thought she had become the mistress of some rich man. In his frenzy, he met a friend of its mother with the child; he took it away and killed it. Sarah Slater was that evening at her reading class at the Lyceum, and Waddington went and called her out, told her he had killed the child, and attempted to cut her throat. She escaped, and Waddington was arrested. This took place on the 18th of August; and on Monday, Waddington was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be hung.

William Francis Maplethorpe was found dead in a ditch near Hull on the 21st of May last. As he had evidently been murdered by what is called the garotte—that is, pressure either by a cord or the arms round the throat—the case was inquired into. Two men and a woman were arrested for the murder, and a second woman for harbouring and maintaining them, knowing they had committed the crime. They were tried at York on Tuesday. None of the evidence was direct; but it was proved that they were near the spot about the time of the murder, that they hired a cab to carry them away from the town, and that their clothes bore indications of a conflict. Some conversations were reported, especially one by the woman, implicating "her man," Snipe. When the judge had summed up, one of the jurymen was seized with a fit, and the court was adjourned. In consequence the whole trial had to be gone over again before a new jurymen; and at one o'clock in the night, the jury found a verdict of Not Guilty against the prisoner.

Canadian notions as to what is evidence seem rather lax; as the following story shows. Writing from Quebec on the 3rd of December, a correspondent says,—No more notable event than the Bérubé poisoning case has marked the passage of the last few days; nor was this in itself, if we

are to admit the truth of the verdict, an unprecedented crime. Bérubé, a farmer, tires of his wife, falls in love with a girl of fifteen; shortly afterwards the former dies, Bérubé marries the girl, suspicion haunts the mind of some neighbour, the body is exhumed, and poison found in the stomach. Nothing very original in this, as you see; but the novelty consists in the fact that the whole case for the prosecution rested on the evidence of a child six years old, who acknowledged that he did not know what an oath meant or a prayer; that 'he had known God for five days;' but swore positively that, sixteen months before, when he was four years and eight months old, he administered poison to the deceased by the direction of his sister, Bérubé's second wife. On this testimony Bérubé and his wife have been sentenced to death. The case has made much stir in town.

Jeremiah Donovan beat his wife on the 22nd of November so brutally, that she was taken to the London Hospital, and has only this week recovered. The plea of Donovan was, that his wife had provoked him so that she richly deserved what she got. Donovan said,—Yes, she knows very well that she tore my shirt when I caught hold of her, and she would never have come here at all, if it hadn't been for the doctor and the policeman, who want to make a county job of it. Wife.—Yes, sir, and that's nothing but the blessed truth; I didn't want to hurt him at all, for he is a very good husband to me. The ruffian was, nevertheless, sent to the House of Correction for two months.

Some time ago, there was an affray between the game-keeper of the notorious Mr. Busfield Ferrand, of wood notoriety, and some poachers. The ruffians overcame him, and tied his hands and legs, drew up his feet to his hands and left him head downwards. He was released by a farmer. Three men were arrested and tried at York on Monday, but the evidence was insufficient, and they were acquitted.

One of the most singular stories of alleged poisoning has been investigated at the Guildhall, by Alderman Wilson. A woman named Holly, laundress at chambers in Tokenhouse-yard in 1849, charged the clerk of a solicitor there with having given her some poisoned arrowroot. She, her sisters, and children partook of it; and have suffered severely ever since. Such was the effect, that Mrs. Holly and her sister were afterwards placed in a lunatic asylum; all who partook of the arrowroot became insensible. Medical evidence was given as to the terrible effect of what they had taken on the poor women: legs swollen and blackened; pains in the groin, chest, and stomach; vomitings, blotches; and extreme feebleness. An attempt was made to show that the arrowroot contained nux vomica. The most curious part of the matter is, that no kind of reason can be given why the clerk should attempt to poison these people; on the contrary, he had been extremely kind to Mrs. Holly. The whole matter stands over for further investigation. Mrs. Holly states that she has made at least four attempts previously to obtain an inquiry, but failed.

Impostors who live by warts of the imagination, and a recitation of sufferings never endured, whose stock in trade consists of lies, are always plentiful in the metropolis. On Tuesday, one Webster, with several other names, was charged at the Westminster Court with practising frauds on officers of the army. Among his victims were Lord Arthur Hay, Lieutenant-Colonel Steele, and Colonel Blair. Webster described himself as a discharged soldier who was on his way home. As there are other cases against him, he was remanded for a week.

Mrs. Thornton, the wife of the landlord of a public-house at Mortlake, was found dead in her bed, with one of her ears nearly cut off. How she came by her death does not appear, but inquiries are going on. She was a great drinker, and seems to have been habitually intoxicated.

A young lady of high connexions has mysteriously disappeared from the "locality" of Eaton-square. It appears she went out for a walk on Thursday, the 16th inst., and took the omnibus at the end of Sloane-street, Chelsea, and although every exertion has been made to trace the fugitive, not the slightest tidings have been heard of the lady. The following is a description of her:—Initials on linen, "K. I. Q.;" about eighteen years of age, but looks older; dressed in a coarse straw bonnet, lined and trimmed with blue, edged with black velvet, with a wreath of pink daisies; sage-coloured merino dress, black cloth paletot, with brown parasol; high heeled black kid boots; gold-ring, with green stone, which she wore on her right hand. She had with her, also, a brown paper parcel, containing a plaid silk dress. Her height is about five feet four inches, dark hair, pale complexion, and was last seen in the neighbourhood of Blackheath.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen, with Prince Albert and the children, crossed over from the Isle of Wight to Gosport on Wednesday, saluted on her way by the usual ceremonial firing of guns. Thence she proceeded by railway to Windsor Castle, where the court will keep Christmas.

Prince Albert granted an interview to the newly ordained pastor of Pitcairn's Island, the Reverend Mr. Nobbs, before he set out in *La Plata*; he was also presented to the Queen.

It has been resolved to invite the American minister, Mr. Ingersoll, to a public dinner at Manchester, to testify respect both for the man and the representative of America.

Mr. Peter Borthwick, some time representative of Evesham, and lately editor of the *Morning Post*, died on Saturday last, after a painful illness.

Mr. Hume's portrait, painted by Mr. J. Lucas, and subscribed for by the Liberal members of the House of Commons, is now being exhibited at Mr. Graves'. Mr. Hume holds in his hand a document tied with red tape, and labelled, "Account of the national income and expenditure."

Mr. Alderman Salomons has given a presentation to one of the fatherless children of the late Mr. J. W. Allen,

artist, to the Blue Coat School; and the Board of Management of the Governnesses Benevolent Institution have presented a free scholarship in Queen's College to one of the girls.

The Duke of Wellington, we understand, contemplates forthwith throwing open Apsley House to the public, under certain regulations, in order that they may view the magnificent collection of presents given by foreign Sovereigns to his late lamented and illustrious father. It is, we believe, an acknowledgment on the part of his Grace for the late munificent grant of 80,000*l.* for the late Duke's interment.—*Morning Herald.*

When Lord Derby resigned, a matter-of-fact Radical asked this posing question—"What will become of the *Morning Herald* now that it has ceased to be a Government organ?" to which a wag instantly rejoined—"Why, it will be the Opposition hurdy-gurdy."

Tuesday being St. Thomas's day, the elections for the different wardmotes in the City took place. In the ward of Cheap, we observe that Mr. W. H. Ashurst moved and carried a resolution in favour of raising the revenue by direct taxation, upon the principle of an insurance-office, according to the amount protected.

The Middlesex reformers entertained Lord Robert Grosvenor and Mr. Osborne at dinner, on Tuesday. Sir John Shelley presided, and about 400 sat down at the table of mine host of the Albion, Hammersmith. Lord Robert said the late Ministry would go down to posterity as the "Bowing Ministry;" and Mr. Osborne characterized Mr. Disraeli's scheme as the Great Magician Budget.

We understand that a series of very successful meetings have been held at Pontypool, Newport, and Swansea, by the wandering representatives of the Anti-State Church Association. There have been meetings also at Middlebro-n-Tees and North Shields.

The very beautiful and costly Museum of Ancient and Modern Art Manufactures, and Vernon Gallery, at Marlborough-house, Pall-Mall, will be open free, from ten till four, during the Christmas week, for the special convenience and improvement of the working classes. The collections of ornamental and decorative art, and forty-four pieces of china lent by the Queen, also a specimen of Palissy ware, are in the upstairs rooms.

Education in Ireland has made a marked progress since 1850. By the last Report of the National Commissioners we find that no less than 252 schools were taken into connexion with the national system in 1851. During that year there were 520,401 pupils on the rolls; and there were on the 31st of March, 1852, 5822 teachers of both sexes in the service of the Board. The number of schools in operation in November last was 4795—an increase of 91 over last year. There were 4434 schools under separate management, and 175 under joint management of persons of different religious persuasions.

The Madrid steamer, which left Southampton on the 17th with the Peninsula mail, was obliged to anchor in Yarmouth Roads for the night, the pilot refusing to go to sea on account of the terrific violence of the weather. The *Hermann* mail-packet, which reached Cowes on Sunday, from New York, experienced the most tempestuous weather ever known, during the last three days of her voyage. The tempest experienced by the *Hermann* was also felt by the *Orinoco* on the 16th inst.; although at the time the *Orinoco* was light and her hull sixty feet high, the sea beat over her stern while her bowsprit was under water. The Jersey mail packet *Courier*, which left Southampton on Thursday, had the greatest difficulty in reaching Guernsey. At Guernsey she made two attempts to leave for Jersey, but was obliged to put back. Nearly all the passengers for Jersey left the *Courier* at Guernsey, and declined going on in her on account of the weather. At length the packet reached Jersey, and was obliged to keep up the steam all night on Friday in case she should be blown drift.

The *Adelaide* Australian steamer put back into Plymouth on the 19th, leaky. Water rushed in through the hawse holes, and her rudder was defective. She was expected to be detained several days. Letters have been received from the *Australia* (Australian packet), dated Port Philip, September 5. She left the Cape on July 22, and arrived at Adelaide on August 29. The crew took the gold fever, and refused to work, but eventually agreed to go round to Sydney, and be discharged there. Seamen want 80*l.* each for the voyage home. Her crew and passengers were well, and the vessel proved a good one, but through the loss of the crew, it is uncertain when she will be in England.

Not only the *Adelaide* has been obliged to put back: the *W. S. Lindsay*, a crack ship, built at Sunderland, launched with a speech from Mrs. Chisholm and Mr. Lindsay, and highly eulogised, has turned out unfit for sea, owing to her "peculiar construction." The compass also was not right. She had proceeded as far as the Downs, on her way with emigrants to Australia, when Mr. W. S. Lindsay received information of her unfitness, and he instantly ordered her back to the Thames. This is noble conduct in these days. Mr. Lindsay has written a circular to the passengers, explaining the case; he requests that they will proceed by another ship which he names, and he promises to indemnify them for all reasonable expenses.

It has been the custom of persons sending parcels by railway from Liverpool to London, to take them to one person, who has a receiving office. He packs them up in one parcel, and books it at the railway station as one-of course by that means effecting a large saving to the several senders. They are assigned to a similar office in London, and thence distributed. To check this system, the London and North-Western Railway Company gave notice to the proprietor of the Liverpool office, Mr. Kimp-ton, that he would in future be charged for every separate parcel; and he has been so charged. But the question arose as to the right of the company to impose the extra charge, and an action was brought in the Liverpool County-court to decide the matter. Mr. Pollock, the judge, decided on Monday that the large package should be charged for as one package, but that an allowance of

ten per cent. upon each inclosed parcel should be made to the company.

Three men, assistants to Mr. Elliot, buttermen and cheesemonger, at 3, Portman-place, Edgware-road, have died from the fumes of charcoal. Mr. Elliot recently built an out-house without a fireplace. His assistants were sent to sleep there, and a charcoal brazier was used to warm the apartment. Three weeks ago they were ill; on Sunday they were found, two dead, the other nearly; he soon died. The jury found that they "died from suffocation, caused by accidentally inhaling the fumes of charcoal."

An accident happened on the North-Western railway, on Thursday night. When the express from Manchester reached Harrow, the tire of one of the engine wheels suddenly broke, and in an instant the engine was thrown off the line. One passenger-carriage was thrown across the rails. The passengers had fortunately got out, when a goods train approached, and dashed into the fallen carriage. Many passengers were bruised, but none killed. After a short search, however, the guard of the express was found, quite dead. So great was the obstruction, that the passengers did not reach town until five o'clock on Friday morning.

Several men were killed by the irruption of water into a colliery at Shortwood, near Bristol, on the 6th. From the evidence at the inquest it appears that the proprietors caused the works to be carried too near some old workings full of water; the diminished partition gave way, and the torrent ran full swing for two hours, and slowly for twelve. The jury found a verdict of "Accidental death."

There were no less than six fires on Monday night and early on Tuesday morning in London, four in the extreme eastern district, beyond the Bank, one in St. Luke's, and one in Southwark. On Tuesday evening there was another at Camberwell. A good deal of property has been destroyed, but no lives have been lost.

There was a frightful accident at Elsecar, near Barnsley, a colliery belonging to Earl Fitzwilliam, on Wednesday. Nine persons were killed and eight wounded, in consequence of an explosion of fire-damp.

James Barbour has been sentenced to death for murdering the packman, Robison, near Sheffield. Robison carried the pack for Barbour's uncle, a post formerly occupied by the nephew, but lost through bad conduct. Barbour, under pretence of showing Robison some new customers, led him to what seemed a lonely place; shot him and robbed him.

A notice has been posted up at Trieste, to the effect that the British Government has entered into a treaty of reciprocity with Austria for the delivering up of deserters from Austrian vessels found on British territory.

A very handsome bracelet, set with diamonds, has been forwarded by a society of Viennese to the Austrian Embassy in London. It was intended for Mrs. Bonfield, the landlady in Bankside, who saved General Haynau from the mob, but she has disappeared.

The manager of the theatre at Breslau is giving frequent representations of a drama called "Luther;" and the peasants from Protestant villages come in large parties to demonstrate, by their applause, their resentment at the Jesuit missions. They sometimes drive up in a procession of upwards of a hundred carts, and take the whole pit to themselves. On a late occasion they filled the whole tier of dress boxes, in their frieze coats and broad-brimmed hats.

It has been often asked how the Kafirs get supplied with arms and ammunition; the following account may throw some light on the matter.—A large French barque was driven ashore at Fleet, on the Chesil Bank, near Weymouth, on the night of Wednesday week, laden with must kets and gunpowder; out of fifteen souls who composed the crew only six were saved; upon being asked where the vessel was bound, it was answered, "The Cape of Good Hope."

Mr. Minton, purveyor to her Majesty at Windsor, has had the honour to transmit to Berlin a portion of the fine ox fed by Prince Albert, at his farm in Windsor Great Park, to be placed on the banquet-table of the King of Prussia on New Year's-day. A portion of the same ox will also be placed on the banquet-table of the Queen, at Windsor Castle, on the same day.

The accounts from Singapore by the India Mail are to the 5th of November. Cargoes of Labuan coal were discharging at Singapore and Penang, and the American commodore had also received extensive supplies. The dates from Labuan reach to the 17th of September. The veins of coal, on further examination, were found to be thicker than had been anticipated, and the *Brahmin* had left for Singapore with 750 tons.

By a Parliamentary return, obtained by the Government, a comparison is made between the house and window duties in reference to the double amount to be assessed. In England and Wales, in the year ending the 5th of April last, 431,447 houses were assessed to the inhabited house duty, and 30,472 in Scotland, making 461,919. The amount of the duty was 707,018*l.*—in England and Wales, 663,889*l.*, and in Scotland 43,029*l.* The amount of the window duty in the year ended the 5th of April, 1851, was 1,950,792*l.*—in England and Wales, 1,809,713*l.*, and in Scotland, 141,079*l.*; showing that the amount given up was 1,243,774*l.*—in England and Wales, 1,146,324*l.*, and in Scotland, 97,450*l.* It is calculated that the house duty on private houses—15,854,126*l.* at 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, would produce 1,189,058*l.*, and on shops at 1*s.* in the pound, 534,922*l.*, making 1,723,980*l.* The window duty, repealed in 1851, was 1,950,000*l.* Estimated produce of the duty now proposed on houses relieved from the window duty in 1851, 1,569,900*l.* Diminished charge on such houses, as compared with 1851, 380,000*l.* Window duty repealed in 1851, 1,950,000*l.* Estimated produce of the duty now pro-

posed on all houses at 10*l.* and upwards, 1,723,000*l.* Diminution of charge on all houses compared with 1851, 227,000*l.*

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE rate of mortality in the metropolitan districts has been nearly uniform during the three weeks of December. The deaths rose to 1042 in the first, declined only to 1012 in the next, and in the week that ended last Saturday rose again to 1041. In the ten weeks corresponding to last week of the years 1842-51, the average number was 1190, which, with a correction for increase of population, gives a mortality for the present time of 1309. Influenza, which prevailed at the end of 1847, when in the corresponding week 1946 persons died from all causes, has contributed to swell this average; but without reference to the casual effect of an epidemic, the comparison still affords gratifying evidence of an improvement in the public health. It will be seen that Registrars in particular localities confirm this observation.

During the last four weeks the mortality caused by zymotic diseases in the aggregate, exhibits remarkable uniformity; the deaths in this class were successively 207, 210, 212, and (last week) 211. In the same times those from scarlatina were 72, 59, 62, and 60. Of 5 deaths from small-pox, one occurred in the Small-pox Hospital, being that of a female servant from Pimlico, aged 17 years, who died on 16th of December of "small-pox, confluent, unmodified (14 days)," said to have been vaccinated when 7 months old, at Leominster, by a woman; no cicatrix. At 338, Albany-road, Camberwell, a professor of astronomy, aged 64 years, died on 12th December of "bilious diarrhoea with vomiting (4 days), cholera without spasms (28 hours)."

Last week the births of 878 boys and 784 girls, in all 1662 children, were registered in London. The average number in seven corresponding weeks of 1845-51 was 1377. At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.318 in.

On Wednesday the mean daily reading was 28.914 in., and on Saturday 30.044 in. The mean temperature of the week was 48.5 degs., which is 7.5 degs. above the average of the same week in ten years. The mean daily temperature was about 10 degs. above the average on the first three days, and from 6 degs. to 8 degs. above it on the next three days. On Friday the mean temperature was 49 degs., and on Saturday it fell to 41 degs. Till Saturday the wind blew from the south and south-west; it then changed to N.N.W. The mean difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 6.4 degs.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 13th of November, in the East Indies, Mrs. Arthur St. John Midway: a son.
On the 12th of December, at Down Ampney, the Lady Maria Ponsonby: a daughter.
On the 13th, at Wykeham, the Viscountess Downe: a son.
On the 15th, at 5, Gloucester-square, the wife of A. Mackinnon, Esq., M.P.: a son.
On the 15th, at 6, Grafton-street, the wife of Thomas Thistlethwayte, Esq., Southwick-park, Hants: a daughter.
On the 16th, at Kinnaird Castle, N.B., the Lady Catherine Carnegie: a daughter.
On the 16th, at Carlton, Maymoth, the Marchioness of Kildare: a son.
On the 20th, at the Parsonage, Kingskerswell, Devon, the wife of the Rev. W. B. Flower, incumbent of Kingskerswell: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 14th of December, at the Abbey Church, Great Malvern, Walter Birch, Esq., Captain H.E.I.C.S., to Jane, eldest daughter of Lieutenant-General Birch, C.B., Royal Engineers.
On the 16th, at All Souls', Langham-place, William, fourth son of John Matthews, Esq., Newport, Isle of Wight, to Caroline Richmond, only child of Robert Rouse, of Wigmore-street, Cavendish-square.
On the 16th, at the Cathedral, Manchester, Captain John Bickerton Flanagan, H. M. 81st Regiment, to Mary Anne, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Taylor, Esq.
On the 16th, at the parish church of St. James's, Paddington, by the Rev. W. J. Hutching, M.A., chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of Brunswick, Syed Abdoolah, to Margaret Wilson, the youngest daughter of the late Captain George Henderson, of Her Majesty's 44th Regiment of Foot, by special licence, and previously before the Registrar of Marriages for the parish of St. Pancras, by Act of Parliament, passed the 17th day of August, 1836.
On the 21st, at St. George's, Hanover-square, by the Hon. and Very Rev. Henry Erskine, Dean of Ripon, the Right Hon. Lord Erskine, to Anna, widow of Thomas Calderwood Durham, Esq., of Largo and of Polton.

DEATHS.

On the 21st of October, at Shanghai, in China, Jane, the beloved wife of Frederick Howe Hale, Esq., of the British Consulate, aged twenty-six.
On the 1st of November, of Chagres fever, at Greytown, Mosquito, in the twenty-second year of his age, George Mitford Nutt, fourth officer of the R. M. S. P. Trent, second son of the Rev. Charles Nutt, curate of Badgeworth, Somersetshire.
On the 15th, at Wood-hill, Aberdeenshire, Lady Grant, of Monymusk, Aberdeenshire, widow of the late Sir Archibald Grant, Bart., in the eighty-fourth year of her age.
On the 16th of December, at the East India College, Haileybury, William Empson, Esq., Professor of Law, aged sixty-two.
On the 16th, at his seat, Compton Verney, Warwickshire, Henry Peryto, Lord Willoughby de Broke, in his eightieth year.
On the 16th, at Barley Rectory, Herts, the Rev. Samuel Lee, D.D., rector of Barley, canon in the Cathedral Church of Bristol, and late Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge.
On the 16th, at Nelson-lodge, Chelsea, Lady Stronge, relict of William Holmes, Esq., of Grafton-street, Bond-street.
On the 17th, at her residence, Esrick Villa, near York, Jane, Lady Middleton, widow of Henry, sixth Lord Middleton, and daughter of the late Sir Robert Lawley, Bart., of Canwell, in the eighty-sixth year of her age.
On the 18th, in Portland-place, of rheumatic fever, Henry Jervoise FitzGerald, fifth son of Thomas and S. M. E. FitzGerald, of Shalstone-house, Bucks, aged ten years and seven months.
At Balbrin, N.B., Harry, infant son of Mr. and Lady Georgiana Balfour, aged fifteen days.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

VERITAS.—We should be glad to have his name in confidence, and further facts, if needful, on the subject. We think local illustrations the best way of advancing general principles.
ERRATUM IN OUR LANE.—In the first page, "News of the Week," first column, twenty-fifth line, for "extension of indirect taxes," read "extension of direct taxes."

Postscript.

SATURDAY, December 25.

THE Aberdeen Ministry is constituted; of that there is no longer any possible doubt; and on Monday new writs will be ordered most likely for Tiverton, London, Southwark, Oxford University, Carlisle, South Wilts, and other boroughs. The *Times* was correct in its statement, yesterday. Lord Aberdeen will be Premier; Lord John Russell will go to the Foreign Office, Lord Palmerston to the Home Office, Mr. Gladstone to the Exchequer, the Duke of Newcastle to the Colonial Office, Mr. Sidney Herbert to the War Office, and Sir William Molesworth will be a member of the Ministry.

We have heard strange rumours that the Aberdeen Cabinet will be far more liberal than people expected; and the *Globe* intimates, as is natural in the *Globe*, that Lord John will restore the proper constitutional tone to the Foreign Office, and set the people of England right with the people of the continent. But we want to know the programme of measures, now there is no longer doubt as to the programme of men.

It is not to be expected that these men would enter into a combination in ignorance of each other's opinions, or to compromise their own opinions; nor is it to be expected that they will do what they do in an evasive manner, or in an evasive spirit. The circumstances of the time and the characters of the men warrant us in expecting that their conduct will be guided, both in administration and legislation, by the obvious necessities and the prevalent opinion of the day. It would not surprise us if, by their weight and onward vigour, they were to crush the superannuated opposition threatened by the relics of the old unlearned Tory party, and extort the confidence of the Radical party.

The following list is said to contain the names of all those Members of the new Cabinet whose appointments were made known up to late yesterday:—

First Lord of the Treasury . . .	LORD ABERDEEN.
Lord Chancellor	LORD CRANWORTH.
Foreign Secretary	LORD J. RUSSELL.
Home Secretary	LORD PALMERSTON.
Chancellor of the Exchequer . .	MR. GLADSTONE.
Secretary for the Colonies . . .	DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.
First Lord of the Admiralty . .	SIR J. GRAHAM.
Secretary-at-War	MR. SIDNEY HERBERT.
President of the Board of Control	SIR CHAS. WOOD.
Postmaster-General	LORD CLANKERIDE.

The Speaker took the chair at two o'clock yesterday.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that it would be convenient for the public service that the House, at its rising, do adjourn to two o'clock on Monday. Colonel SIBTHORP complained that so many unnecessary adjournments should be moved, as such adjournments were detrimental to the public service.

The house was then adjourned to Monday at two o'clock.

The Senate met on Thursday, at half-past one o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, to discuss the report of M. Troplong on the *Senatus Consultum* for the modification of the Constitution. M. Mesnard in the chair. Another article had been added to the project, so that it consisted of seventeen instead of sixteen clauses. The new article is to the effect that Lieutenant-Generals admitted on the half-pay list may be named deputies. The Commission, moreover had added a few words to the 7th Article, which specified that the French Princes, that is, the Princes of the Imperial Family, were of right Senators at the age of 18 years; the words added are, "with the assent of the Emperor." In virtue of another amendment, the allowance of the deputies is increased to 2,500*l.* instead of 2,000*l.*, or 7,500*l.* for the year, independently of extraordinary sessions. The discussion in the Senate was more animated than was expected, and had not terminated when the express left.

M. Horento, the new Minister of the Interior at Madrid, has published a circular to the governors of provinces, announcing the change of ministry, and desiring them to inform the public that the Queen desires the revision of the Constitution by strengthening the throne, without trenching either on representative Government or free discussion.

The Emperor of Austria left Berlin on the 21st inst., returning to Vienna by way of Dresden. The King of Hanover returned to his capital on the preceding day. The Duke of Brunswick was to proceed from Berlin by early train on the 22nd inst.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1852.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ARNOLD.

CHRISTMAS.

CHRISTMAS comes round again, to find numbers in our own "privileged" island very mindful of roast beef and plum-pudding, but not very mindful of the two new commandments, of which the day ought to be so sacred a memento,—to love God with all their hearts, and to love one another. Possibly both might have been better observed, if those who specially make it their profession to enforce both, did not render obedience so impossible. "Help yourself" is the grand rule taught by the educated classes; and it is vaunted as the method of obtaining divine aid without the trouble of loving or trusting in the source of that aid. On Sundays, indeed, the new commandments read—not always in the most animated or impressive manner; but really in the practical business of life, especially in the coercive laws over pauper or bankrupt, neither parts of the tradesman and labouring classes, the other and opposite rule of piety to self is the one enforced.

Still we are moving, perhaps to better days. The most wonderful means of communication are bringing the families of man nearer together, and each is unloosing the more readily its own exclusive privileges. The discoveries of gold have displayed vast treasures providentially lodged in the most opposite regions of the globe, as great prizes and guarantee funds for human enterprise: on the strength of these natural treasures, immense numbers of our people are leaving us for America and Australia; and new means of transit are in process of formation. One company is projecting ships of 14,000 tons burden, 640 ft. long—to bridge the sea with floating palaces. The continent of America is about to be bisected in its central neck by a ship canal, at last actually undertaken under the supervision of Sir Charles Fox, and under the sanction of the great Powers. California and Australia are becoming mere off-lying gold beds for the commerce of London and New York.

Our domestic season will be marked by a startling amount of absences in the Christmas circle this year. One, we fear, will be that of the Christmas pudding in many a house; for the crop of the Corinth grape runs short—dried "currants" are two-pence a pound dearer, and many families resist the rise of price on principle. Thus do our most cherished institutions fall; for is not the Corinth grape one outcast of the national church?

But there will be more serious absences. Scarcely a family is there that does not recal familiar faces now "prospecting" in California or Australia. Well, they are gone to a fortune tolerably certain; and they will return, like the "Uncle from India," in French novels, all wealth and welcome. And already we have a foretaste of the good luck in the happy "prosperity" which has visited our own land, and made the present Christmas so much more cheerful in many a home than it has been for many a season, with a bright prospect for the opening year.

Unless these lovers of "order," who enforce "peace on earth," and teach "good-will amongst men," render the oppression of Europe intolerable, and fall to fighting with each other for a supremacy in tyranny. But peace on earth and good-will amongst men do not wholly depend on the sufferance of the Bourbons, Romanows, Hapsburgs, or Louis Napoleons. And by the blessing of God, the next season of action will unteach the foremost nations that effeminate policy which has made men raise self as the idol representative of heaven, and trust the custody of peace to royal armies. Already we see sunshine beyond that next storm of wickedness.

FORMATION OF THE NEW MINISTRY: THE IMPEDIMENT.

THE orthodox and recognised official class, that class whose members alternate in and out of

office, finds it more easy to upset a Government than to construct one. The reproach came with a bad grace from Lord Derby, who could not even find a decent pretext for remaining in office; but it is levelled at the new Ministers whoever they may be, by force of the facts. Our official class has fallen to the level of the revolutionaries whom it would so much despise: it can overturn, but it is not facile at constructing.

Throughout the week there have been endless reports and rumours as to the difficulties of forming a Cabinet from the abundant materials that appeared to offer themselves. The abundance was part of the difficulty. There were two or three parties, each having enough to fill a Cabinet of its own; there were, therefore, thirty or forty men to fill a dozen or so of places; and the carpet-bag of the Cabinet could not possibly hold them all. But the men excluded, however unselfish and disinterested in their views, could not but recognise in their own exclusion a political offence; for to himself each man embodies a political truth, and to deny him is to deny "the Truth." "Why cannot they join us without reserve?" asked the Liberals of the Peelites. "How can we admit Tories?" asked the Radicals, "when they are Liberals only in Free-trade; they must adopt our principles, on the suffrage especially, or they have no right to come in." "How can you expect to fill the posts," cried the Peelites to the Whigs, "when you cannot keep them, and cannot agree amongst yourselves?" So the Whigs complained that the Peelites intended to monopolize all the offices; the Peelites complained that the Whigs wanted to intrude everywhere; and the Radicals complained that they were forgotten altogether. Rumours corresponded with these ebullitions of feeling. The first idea of a Ministry picked from the prominent sections of all parties gradually melted away; the next gloomy report was, that it was to be a Peelite Government, with Lord John Russell in dignified closet office; and lastly, we have the report of a Cabinet composed of the heads of many official sets.

Although we may not have the final relation till Monday, it may be gathered that a Ministry representing a solid majority in Parliament is not easy to form. We can only have a Ministry representing the party minorities into which Parliament is divided. But there is not only a theoretical violation of constitutional doctrine—there is a practical inconvenience both for Public and Ministry. In such a state of affairs, it seems that the Ministry for the time being may have to encounter an Opposition which could always put a veto upon its proceedings. Thus no party is able to give effect to its own views. But for the public, the case has been still worse: it could not attain fulfilment of its own wishes, because it must act through a party; and even that instrument is frustrated whenever it reaches to any vigorous action.

This impracticable position—so inconvenient, so painful, so humbling to official men—we trace to the diminished communication between the ruling class and the people. That communication has been diminishing steadily for some generations, while society has broken up more into cliques. The official class has carried that disruption still further; and each party, as it is called in Parliament, is not only a minority within the walls, but is in more than a minority out of doors. On the simplest view, it represents only a fraction of the enfranchised class; that is to say, only a fraction of the minority of the whole people—one-third, or less, of one-seventh of the male population of the United Kingdom.

But, in point of fact, the fractional nature of the representation is still more minute. The representative party at head-quarters does not, in most cases, actually reach that section of the country,—meaning that section of the enfranchised class in whose name it professes to act. The official gentlemen at head-quarters communicate with certain election agents and "influential persons,"—that is, busybodies and trading politicians,—and these busybodies and trading politicians deal with local busybodies; and they arrange matters. The constituency of any borough or county has no opportunity of choosing a representative, that is, of selecting a person who can really convey its wants and sentiments in the legislature; but it only has a choice out of people belonging to a class different from itself—the official or semi-official class at head-quarters; and it has no means of commu-

nicating with the man thus imperfectly chosen, save through the mute channel of the poll, or the untrustworthy medium of the busybodies.

The zeal with which parliamentary politicians have devoted themselves to special interests—Railway interests, Agricultural interests, City interests, and the like,—has tended still more to limit their sympathies with the nation itself. They are surrounded by connexions who conceal from them the view of the real people; and whereas the theory of our constitution contemplates a Ministry nominated by the majority of the people as represented in Parliament, the fact is, that Ministries are alternately nominated by small sections of wealthy and active classes, unknown to the people, and knowing very little about the people. Hence, we verily believe, the conflict of minorities, which can never end in total defeat or thorough victory of any one. Each one attaining to the envied opportunities of office, will find arrayed against it a majority composed of the rest, which can prohibit its enjoyment.

Amongst these official and parliamentary classes at head-quarters, we might as readily seek a Cromwell as we might in a parish vestry. Nay, there may be some blessed vestry, in which a mute inglorious Cromwell is now hidden; but assuredly there is no such person amid the parliamentary rabble at head-quarters. There is no man that can appeal to the sympathies of more than a class, because he has no sympathies beyond. One statesman may speak to certain lords and some agriculturists; another may speak to the middle class in certain boroughs of the United Kingdom; and a third may speak to a traditional circle of liberally inclined old families; but these circles are not the nation. To the working classes, but one or two can speak at all; and we are not sure that there is even one man hardy or hearty enough to address the whole body of the people for action. If we were to seek for national feeling, we might perhaps find most of it in the sister services of arms, ashore and afloat; where there is much of caste, much of absolute power, but much also of constant intercourse between highest and lowest.

If any Statesman, with sagacity and boldness enough, desired to over-ride the combined minorities rivalling his own, there is one course that would be infallible. It would be to make a direct appeal to the people—in short, to add the people to his minority. The new Ministry might try it.

MR. DISRAELI AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

IF Mr. Disraeli is a lost man, it is by his own choice. Displaying many talents, he has displayed also many weaknesses; but among the latter list appears to be his incapacity for appreciating political forces, both in their relative power and in the nature of their origin. It is his ambition to treat politics scientifically, to make his calculations by rule; and he brings to bear upon that art not only much cultivation of mind, but much information also, collected from history and the observation of different countries. He has collected the materials for making an artist in statesmanship. That he must have some sympathy with the feelings that stir human nature at large is to be presumed from the very fact of his selecting an artistic method.

Perhaps the grand origin of Mr. Disraeli's error has been in viewing statesmanship too much from a distance—in drawing back from the canvas, as it were, instead of mingling amongst the real people whom he was studying. Hence his policies have been pictures, not actions; and he has mistaken groupings in the view for distinctions that had no reality. He has surveyed English history from the Rialto; and, qualifying it rather as a traveller than as a resident, has guided his public course by literary ideas. Hence his exaggerated conceptions as to the antiquity and present virtue of our "territorial aristocracy," and as to the balance of classes amongst us; hence his scientific adjustments of our public affairs according to theories in books. England, however, has long declined to conform itself to any philosophical rules in its public life, and has most expressly reduced its every classification to confusion. The growth of wealth has confounded our territorial aristocracy. There is scarcely a family that can boast the antiquity with which Mr. Disraeli is familiar in the pedigree of every house in Venice. The classes of society meet and mingle at every turn; and the grand distinctions which still remain, those be-

tween rich and poor, influential and uninfluential, enfranchised and unenfranchised, are exactly those which he did not condescend to notice. He has taken a view of English society according to a scientific method, but it is artificial; and the measures which he has framed on that view have broken to pieces simply because they did not apply. They were not measures, but toys.

It is only in this way that we can account for the peculiar selection which he made, as a rising Statesman, in allying himself to the Protectionist party, which was to him a "territorial aristocracy," although it was without any power but ownership in land and the influence of wealth. The mistake, however, which to a mind so technological as his, was as easily made as a slip of the pen, involves the sacrifice of a political life. By virtue of that mistake, he has carried his peculiar faculties to a market where they are not appreciated. He has taken his razors into the business of stonemasonry, and the result is to be gathered from the un concealed evidences of imperfect alliance between himself and his colleagues. The only man of real commanding ability amongst them, his colleagues but half adopted him. They accepted the distinctions drawn on the other side between him, as the adversary of Sir Robert Peel, and themselves. Although Lord Derby had undertaken to stand or fall by the financial policy of his Government, there is not the slightest proof that he was in intimate relation with his Chancellor of the Exchequer; and many stories current in the political world indicate the very reverse. The public may be left to conjecture that Mr. Disraeli was "a person" called in to frame a budget, as a carpenter might be called in to frame a box, and that he was viewed with the same alienation by the polite circle around him as the working man would be in a party of ladies and gentlemen. His own language might be understood to echo that suggestion. In apologizing for his last slashing speech on Friday night, he threw out a hint that he had to bear the brunt of the contest alone. With the generous exception of Mr. Walpole, and some minor formal tributes to his abilities, there does not appear to have been any hearty support from amongst his late colleagues. The cuts which he levelled at his antagonists were not more bitter than those backhanders which he dealt at his own friends. He evidently counts Protection amongst the "obsolete policies," and he proclaims its unsuccess. Author of the policy by which Ministers were to stand or fall, it does not appear that he was able to dictate the time of their capitulation. Lord Derby, who seems to have taken no trouble in the matter, settled the surrender at his own convenience, and very little thought seems to have been cast on the loss of the opportunity to that Statesman who had made the opportunity.

And yet it is said that Mr. Disraeli remains faithful to his party—that is to say, that he is still going to work for that party which cannot support him, which cannot appreciate his refinements, which cannot secure him his rewards! He condescends to associate with men amongst whom he is "a person," to take rank under a man who can resort to the vulgar bullying of Lord Derby, and to be almost of less account than that reckless "W. B.," who does not know how to hide his paltry electioneering manoeuvres, or to acknowledge them when detected. Disraeli and Derby may be placed in exact contrast. In a burst of passion, Disraeli assailed all round, transgressed the rules of parliamentary decorum, but made his power felt at every blow; then recovering, with an artistic sense of good taste, he performs the last duties of a Minister in announcing his resignation with simplicity and self-possession, and closes with a graceful apology for his mistake. His Chief inverts that order. Indifferent either to the opportunity or to his opponents, contributing nothing to the Ministerial position but fussy meddling threats that he shall resign, he performs his last act in a burst of vulgar anger, and roundly confesses that he regards the necessity of resignation as a personal affront.

THE LATEST POSITION OF THE CUBAN AFFAIR.

PRESIDENT FILLMORE'S message to the American Congress discloses the actual position of the United States towards Cuba; and those European powers which have been endeavouring to foreclose the claim of the Americans on that island.

The dispute with the Captain-General, respecting the admission of the *Crescent City* steamer, was but an episode in a long-continued question; and the President's message shows us that, while that episode has not been brought to any satisfactory conclusion, the general question of Cuba remains open, by the express will of the United States, in order to its own ulterior freedom of action. It is probable that the *Crescent City* episode might have been closed, if the proud Government of Spain had conceded sufficient authority to its officer governing the island; but he cannot treat with foreign powers, and thus the Captain-General cannot arrange the admission of steamers with the President of the United States. So much the worse for him and his Government.

The rebuff given to England and France is more serious in its meaning. Let us observe that in speaking of England, we copy that licence which substitutes the name of our country for certain official people in Downing-street, who are the real parties to the transactions in question. Early in the present year, official notes were received from the ministers of France and England, inviting the Government of the United States to join in disclaiming, now and for the future, all intention to obtain possession of the island of Cuba. The invitation must be regarded as a cool one. France, governed by an usurper, is not exactly the State competent to decide between the rights of possession or legitimacy; and England might have known better than to make so simple a proposition. The correspondence recently published, although not completed by the appendix which we believe to exist, shows that ever since 1822, the continued possession of Cuba by Spain has been a matter of doubt, and even of discussion. That correspondence, and its appendix, have been closed, and it would have been far better to let the matter rest, than by inviting an idle disclaimer, to provoke the distinct refusal of the American Government.

The refusal is rendered the more significant by the very arguments with which Mr. Fillmore accompanies it against the seizure of Cuba. These arguments show that he himself is opposed to the movement which is taking place within his own country. He is so opposed to it, that he cannot refrain from recording his arguments in his last great official document. Yet opposed to it as he is, we see that he is unable to act upon his own conclusion. He is unable to promise for the United States that they shall not take Cuba; and when we couple that very proper scruple on his own part, with the facts that he is the *accidental* President of the Union, that he is the President of a beaten party, and that he is about to surrender the Government to a man elected by a party entertaining the very opposite views, we perceive that his pleading proclaims the losing cause. He is a reluctant witness that the determination to take Cuba is *not* to be resisted.

In England this subject has been discussed too much from an English point of view. Because, with our convictions at the present moment, it would be wrong in us to seize a foreign State—we do so, nevertheless, in practice—we hold that the Americans must be equally wrong, and we presume that they must do so through sheer grasping and dishonesty. Now the fact is, that a large amount of earnest political zeal, almost a political fanaticism, engages a great proportion of the Americans moving in this matter. They are for extending their institutions, not only to exalt their own country, but to benefit the people who receive them; and recent experience has justified that propagandism. The American institutions are a benefit to the countries who receive them; and they are viewed with eyes of envy by States more distant than Cuba. The recently published correspondence shows that there has long been in Cuba a party desiring union with a State where every citizen is free, and where enterprise prospers.

Correspondence now published in the *New York Herald* refutes the grand pretext of many Englishmen for resisting the annexation of Cuba—the notion that it would facilitate the slave trade; whereas the very reverse is true. Under the existing government of Cuba, the slave trade is now proceeding at a rapid pace. The forfeiture of an American ship, in the United States, for the crime of selling it to the slave trade, contrasted with the dealing of the Cuban Government, if not the Government of Madrid, in that traffic, shows on which side lies the sincere desire for slave-trade extinction. There can be no doubt

that if Cuba were annexed to the United States, the external slave trade would cease from that day. The English arguments, therefore, can have but little weight in America, where their fallacy is perceived and daily illustrated by facts; and where the position of our Government can be ascribed to nothing but a desire for hostility with the great Republic, whose alliance would be the most valuable to us.

So President Fillmore's arguments against propagandism of free institutions read like the lecture of a man retiring into private life, and conscious that he speaks to deaf ears. In fact, the American Republic is strong; it has the ambition to make its power more widely felt; and it only awaits the opportunity.

AMERICAN SOUVENIRS OF NAPOLEON III.

WHEN Louis Philippe was at the height of his power, he received, accommodating himself to the situation with his usual ease, a visitor who might have embarrassed other men—an American lady, whom he had formerly, but vainly, invited to be Mrs. Louis Philippe, and who must have survived all regrets, if she ever had any, at not being in Queen Amélie's place.

Louis Napoleon may, perhaps, be called upon to entertain, from the same country, another guest, not so easy to bow out. In recalling associations so pleasing, we might have hesitated to allude to this possible visit, had not the circumstances been published by the *Brooklyn Daily Advertiser*, the editor of which knew Louis Napoleon during his residence in New York many years ago. The writer is very specific in his recollections:—

"At that time he," that is, Napoleon III., now by the grace of God, Emperor of the French, "was very poor and"—we write it respecting a royal person with great regret—"very dissipated."

We may, indeed, entertain some doubts respecting this assertion, since it is notorious, not only that royal persons never are dissipated at all, but that they never can have been anything but virtuous,—can have done anything that should throw discredit on "the grace of God." We may remember, however, that it is only an American who writes this monstrous assertion; and he proceeds, with republican rudeness:—

"He," that is, the Emperor, "was notoriously profligate in his habits. He lived in a lodging-house in Reade-street, then kept by a gentleman who now occupies a high official position under the French Government." Such are the ups and downs of life! The lodging-house keeper is now glad to accept the favour of his poor tenant, for the lodging-house keeper is exalted amongst men, and the poor tenant has become the Dictator of a great State. But let us proceed:—

"Notoriously profligate in his habits, and without the pecuniary ability to indulge to the full bent of his inclination, the culpable propensities which characterised him, he was"—it becomes agonizing to write these statements respecting a real emperor—"frequently expelled from certain places in which he obtruded himself."

Parisians, who have witnessed the most striking of all obtrusions, will hear of these expulsions with surprise; but this we must remember, Louis Napoleon was formerly dealing with Americans.

"And more than a dozen times," proceeds the American editor, "he was the occupant of a cell at the old gaol in the Park." Here the Yankee libeller betrays the cloven foot. It is true that writers have said, even in France, that Louis Napoleon was once in a prison at Ham, for a discreditable and sanguinary riot at Boulogne, where he coolly and gratuitously shot a lieutenant with his own hand; but we all know how false these things are: Ham is not in France, but is a little village in the neighbourhood of Richmond, in England, and there is no prison near it; and the story of Boulogne is about as true as the victory which the English claim at Waterloo.

"Not long prior to his leaving the United States," continues our American editor, "he was arrested for a misdemeanour committed by him at the disreputable house of a woman whose establishment he often visited; and the writer of this article was employed professionally by him to save him from the threatened consequences of his recklessness and indiscretion." Of course his Imperial Majesty cannot remember these things. They have been cancelled by the Second of December. The Emperor dates from December, 1852, and Louis Napoleon was but the grub of the Emperor moth.

All memories, however, are not cut short by a 2nd of December. The worthy and tenacious lawyer at Brooklyn still recollects one fact, important to him: "Louis Napoleon," he says, "is still indebted to us for counsel fees and disbursements." Now, will the Yankee forego that claim? Is it not evident policy in him to go to Paris with his "little bill"? Surely an American citizen will not be compelled to waive his just demand on the client of the old gaol in the Park? Surely Imperial Napoleon will not repudiate? Or if the Brooklyn editor, bearing his little bill in person, were recklessly seized by the irresponsible despot, surely the star-spangled banner would extend its protecting shadow over him? It would be worth while raising that question of international accountability. Europe has often invaded America: here is an easy mode by which America might invade Europe, in the person of Louis Napoleon's friend, with his little bill for counsel fees and disbursements, in defending Napoleon III. under a charge of misdeemeanour.

REPRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT AND THE AMENDED ORDER.

THE Thanet Union has been one of our most faithful illustrations of the principle of reproductive employment, and this year we learn that the experiment proceeds with increasing success. The Guardians have made a profit of 95*l.* in the year, a decided increase upon our last report. The land was very poor when they took it, and they have not had it more than three years; the rent is 2*l.* 10*s.* per acre; tithe on the whole, 6*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* per year; and every expense, labour excepted, is accounted for.

All labour was done by the inmates, with great incidental advantages to themselves. "Many of the old men spend hours in the fresh air, where they can work if they please, very little, if any, restraint being put upon them. Latterly they have not had an able-bodied inmate in the house the labour being principally done by the elders and boys. All appear benefited by this industrial farm, and no one injured. Many a skulking fellow from the watering-places of Ramsgate and Margate is prevented from going into the house, because he knows that there he must work." And this effect takes place notwithstanding the fact that the diet is better than it is in other Unions. The workers are, in a certain degree, rewarded for their exertion, as the Officers are interested in the farm proceedings, and the Governor is an adept in agricultural pursuits." The men are treated more humanely, yet the farm does not prove an attraction for the idler, as *a priori* and rigorous economists of the old school would have presumed. How many fallacious assumptions against reproductive employment do these facts refute.

In August last, the Poor Law Commissioners issued an order forbidding relief to various descriptions of paupers, excepting in kind or in the shape of work. This was held by many Poor Law Reformers not only as a return to the principle of the 43rd of Elizabeth, but also as an adoption of the principle of reproductive employment. We are aware that we caused some chagrin to very good friends of ours for not recognising it in that sense, and we still observe that the principle of reproductive employment is not directly enforced by the amended order. On the other hand, although there has been a great deal of discussion on the subject, it is equally the fact that the principle of reproductive employment is not prohibited by the order. The Guardians are required to give able-bodied persons relief in the form of work; they are allowed to use their discretion in a variety of ways, and it appears to us that, under a strict interpretation of the order, they are free either to make the work test-labour of the kind contemplated at the first amendment of the Poor Law in 1834, or reproductive employment, in the sense of the Poor Law Reform Association. The deliberate character of this Amended Order, gives the omission almost as much value as a positive licence. The question is an open question—this we regard as being in itself a great advance. Down to the present year, it was, so far as authority goes, a closed question, and it is mainly through the exertions of enterprising Guardians, such as those at Thanet, Cork, and other places, aided by the systematic labours of the Poor Law Reform Association, that the question has been thus satisfactorily reopened.

MR. KIRWAN'S CASE.

In the Kirwan case, Mr. Justice Crampton has refused to reserve for the consideration of the Court of Criminal Appeal the points of objection raised by Mr. Butt; and as the law at present allows a criminal no appeal upon the merits, it seems not impossible that the accused may yet be hanged for, what the *Times* now calls "an alleged" murder—a murder, that is, not proved to have been committed at all, far less shown to have been committed by him. Great efforts have been made, we understand, by the few people in this country who care to be active in a question of justice not immediately affecting themselves, to get a few of our leading barristers to attend some demonstration against a verdict so inconsistent with the evidence as that at Dublin, but, unfortunately, with no success. Very many of the best authorities are, however, quite of opinion that the whole evidence given was insufficient to justify the jury in their conclusion, and that a great part of it was worthless from the *animus* and the palpable inaccuracy of particular witnesses. Professional etiquette, delicacy due to the unsuccessful counsel for the defence, and horror of having motives attributed for the good deed, seem to be the reasons which have prevailed over the inclinations of the numerous distinguished members of the bar, whose opinions concur with those expressed in the *Leader* last week; the other apology for their inaction, and that which we most readily admit, is, that they cannot persuade themselves to believe that, even as matters stand, the sentence of the law will ever be carried into execution. Neither can we.

NAPOLEON III. AND HIS MILITARY DEMOCRACY.

THUS far Louis Napoleon's success has been complete, has perhaps outgrown his own expectations. Without any very decided achievements, he has fairly won the good-will of the great bulk of the French people, and trustworthy accounts convince us that he is really popular. The plan of action that he is developing is one precisely suited to the French genius. He is constructing a true military despotism, based on democracy; for however fraudulent his original appeal to the people of France may have been, he is now filling up that blank form with genuine facts.

The scheme which is credibly imputed to him attests the striking reliance of the man in himself and his own method. He is about to construct the whole male population of France into one vast army. By that means, according to the calculations of more timid statesmen, he is forfeiting the exclusive power of the Executive Government, by merging it in the power of the whole people. But to our apprehension, if we are rightly informed as to his plan, he is taking one method towards employing all the true elements of government; these elements are—opinion, affection, and force. In constructing a machine to restore the glory of France, he is both reviving and fulfilling a permanent opinion in that nation. By his conduct in furnishing employment and amusement, he is winning their affection; and so long as he can keep these two elements working, the extension of power to the whole body of the people is but an addition to his own force.

Whatever may be the difficulties which his extended resources entail upon him at home, there can be no doubt that if he should succeed, he will steal a march upon his rivals abroad, in a manner which they will have great difficulty to match. Collectively, they will be able to bring some 3,000,000 of soldiers into the field; but he can bring even a greater number; and while their councils must inevitably be distracted by separate interests, he would move his enormous army with the will of one nation, and that the most military nation in Europe. Other potentates might desire to imitate him, but they have not studied Statecraft with so much foresight. They have placed themselves in a position such that they cannot trust any of the people subject to them, as he can. With the doubtful exception of Prussia, there is no absolute Monarch in Europe who could arm the whole body of his people without creating the means of his own dethronement.

We know, indeed, of but one parallel to the policy of Louis Napoleon, and that is one in some respects his political opposite: it is the United States. That Republic, with a comparatively small regular army, possesses, like the French

Emperor, an effective army in the whole body of its citizens; not, indeed, drilled for moveable service, as his soldiers will be, but animated by a still more national feeling. That model has been long before us of England, and Louis Napoleon has now doubled it. He has enormously deranged the balance of power, as our closet diplomatists have adjusted it; but there is no redressing the balance, save by copying his process.

THE (DECEASED) BUDGET DISSECTED. III.

THE object with which we proposed to examine the budget, which is now defunct, was neither to attack nor to support a ministry; and as that object is not changed by the events of the week, we persist in our intention. We wish to derive from passing circumstances some elucidation of general principles. We may at least as well discuss the Budget of last week, as the debates on the American war, of eighty years ago: and commonly quite as much is learned from failures duly scrutinized, as from success.

The budget of Mr. Disraeli, and the policy sketched out by him in connexion with it, had several features entitled to unequivocal approbation. These were as follow:—

1. The freeing of our commercial marine from unjust charges, which had nothing but antiquity to recommend and official inertness to conserve them. The agitation for this reform commenced with a committee, procured by Mr. Hume, in 1823, over which Mr. Wallace presided, and the first steps in the reform itself were taken at the instance of another committee, in 1834, also moved for by Mr. Hume. In 1845, yet another committee sat on the same subject, and the ministry of Lord John Russell promised the reforms it proposed, but failed to effect them. The subject thus fell into the bolder hands, or under the more diligent management, of Mr. Disraeli. After the proposal from the Treasury Bench, of measures so just in themselves, it is impossible that either sinister interests, or the convenience of office, can long delay them; and this much needed reform, together with the now certain abolition of the remaining timber-duties, will do much to unfetter our mercantile navy for the healthy race before it.

2. The bringing to public account, and under parliamentary control, of all monies received for the national revenue. About 4,500,000*l.* is now stopped out of the gross receipts on their way to the Treasury; this sum is applied to the expenses of collection, to the payment of pensions granted long ago, on the old system of assignments, and perhaps to some other purposes. We only stay to say that in no well managed private concern would such an arrangement be permitted. Governments are the last to learn.

3. Administrative improvements, as distinct from contraction of the objects to be accomplished. These, if effected according to Mr. Disraeli's promise, and to the sound but neglected principles he enunciated, would have been equivalent in time to a large direct economy. It has been said in the highest quarters of administrative office, that if only right principles of selection and superintendence were established, the work of government could be far better done than at present with half the hands. This opinion, however new to be promulgated from Whitehall, and maintained in effect from the ministerial side of the house with Conservatives in office, is only such as experience in all other quarters warrants. Compare the work done for private parties with that done for government in any age or country, and see how much room there is for this kind of reform. It is not a little to the credit of Mr. Disraeli's courage that he offered to undertake it.

4. The unsettling and prospective reduction of the tea-duties. We need only say that after former neglect or timid handling of this subject, even so obvious and easy a reform has merit.

5. The distinction of incomes for taxation according to the nature of their source. If the fundamental error of taxing income at all is to be retained, this is an improvement which the common sense of men required, and which mere ingenuity of argument will hardly now be able to reverse. Scientific truth is here really on the same side as common sense, and the budget which adopted their joint conclusion, deserves all the credit which can be given to making the best of a radical mistake.

6. The final settlement of the question of Free-trade. It is not for us to inquire how the members of Lord Derby's cabinet, and Mr. Disraeli in particular, stand with their party. It is enough to know that by arguments and propositions, to whose force the solemnities of a formal treaty could add nothing, the chosen champions of Protection surrendered it. The few who still retain their faith in it, can only be paralleled by the remaining Jacobites of sixty years ago. We may fairly



count this result as one of the merits of the defeated budget.

Most of the improvements above mentioned may be considered as virtually effected by the retiring cabinet; for to propose such is to effect them. No successors dare stop short of that which these men declared themselves ready to do. If we hear again of an oppressed mercantile navy, of wasteful and inefficient dockyards, of defective and misarranged public accounts, of tea duties obstinately maintained, of an income-tax which cruelly applies to incomes of unequal nature and effects, the same unbending rule of exaction, we shall at least know where to find men who, whatever their faults or errors, are ready to grapple with these particular evils. Nor can reform stop here. The principles requisite to defend the changes the late Administration would have made, will apply, and will be applied, much further. Change in the right direction has commenced; and all the inertia of office (the real obstacle to improvement) cannot stop it. Mr. Disraeli's was emphatically a budget of transition, and in that character, although "dead, it yet speaketh."

Our tribute thus willingly rendered to the excellences of the budget, we turn to its faults. We may dispatch at once that demerit which consisted in its changes being in great part only semi-abolitions. Had the taxes on malt and hops been wholly repealed, considerable establishments would have been dispensed with, while under the proposed plan the entire charge of management must have been incurred for a collection of half the amount. Even more—to have abolished the very machinery of the tax, would have been a security against its re-imposition, such as the mere reduction of the tax could never afford against the re-establishment of the old rate.

It is no novelty to say that the late budget, with much in it to be approved, was ruined by the attempt to substitute an increased house-tax for one-half of the malt-tax. Other faults might have been borne with or remedied, but this was fatal. Before we discuss these contrasted taxes, let us inquire how it became necessary to oppose them to each other. If a reduction of the malt-tax was necessary as a colourable compensation for the withdrawal of agricultural protection, does it follow that an increased house-tax should have been selected to supply the deficiency? Town and country were expressly set against each other by this proposition; and nothing could justify the risking of defeat on such a point but the impossibility of avoiding it.

The loss on the malt-tax was estimated at two-and-a-half millions. Now, exclusive of the device of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, this loss could only have been met by additional customs and excise duties,—or in part by an extension of the legacy duties to real property,—or by a sufficient extension of the income-tax. But the first of these alternatives is inconsistent with the established doctrines of Free-trade. The second and third would have been merely laying on the land, in another form, taxes which were professed to be taken off by reducing the malt-tax; for it must be remembered that if a distinction of incomes for purposes of taxation was to be admitted, the chief increase of the income-tax to meet the reduction of the malt-tax must have fallen on real property.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, then, had little choice but to increase the house-tax, for any other device would either have been resisted by the commercial and Free-trade majority, if he took one course; or it would have struck away from him his own supporters, who looked to him for some sort of compensation, if he took the other.

The case stands thus:—Land has long been believed to be unduly favoured in our fiscal arrangements. Whether this be true or not (which, on the whole, nobody can clearly show), land tries to keep and extend the advantage. Trade and labour have lately thrown off undue burdens. Land tries to effect a change in taxation intended to retrieve the standing it believes itself to have lost. Trade resists. The Government takes the side of land, and fails in the attempt. The system comes to a dead lock, without even yielding us from the catastrophe the means of future guidance. Only one thing is certain, that in the midst of all our groping darkness on the subject, most tax-payers and electors believe land to have already so many advantages, that they resolutely resist any addition to them.

This, however, is stating the matter according to the principles generally current, and it is necessary so to state it, in order to show how the existing unsound system brings itself into extreme difficulties. But we object to this whole treatment of the subject. Why distinguish between land and trade at all? It is all equally property protected by the State, and should be liable alike, and only alike, each as property alone, to its share of the cost. This budget, like all before it, has been framed, discussed, supported, opposed, and

overthrown without one single reference to the question which lies at the foundation of the whole subject,—does any class pay more or less than its fair share of the common expenses? The only questions, whatever their form, are at bottom, either, shall we pay more under the new budget than before? or, are we strong enough, right or wrong, to make or prevent an alteration for or against ourselves? Mr. Disraeli failed, not because he was either right or wrong, but because, on a most obscure subject, he attempted a change in favour of a particular class, which that class was not strong enough to enable him to carry.

This eventful contest between the house-tax and the malt-tax leads to an examination of both. Eminent economists say that the house-tax is a fair tax, and the reason given is, that the rent a man pays is commonly a fair index of his income. From this opinion we entirely dissent; the rent a man pays is no true gauge of his income; his income is no true gauge of his obligation to the State.

According to these economists, the house is not taxed merely as a house, but as a gauge of income; any other item of expenditure has just as good a title to be taxed, if only it be fixed on as such a gauge,—say, clothes or food. But taxes on both clothes and food have been abolished by force of consequences, and of public opinion resulting from them, which nothing could resist. Every reason which opposes the taxing of food and clothes equally opposes the taxing of habitations. If bread, calico, and broadcloth be matters of expenditure, so is rent. If the taxing of calico in any of its materials or processes interferes with the industry which produces that article, so does the taxing of rent interfere with the profits of house property. If the taxing of corn took away so much of the earnings of the country as to restrict the employment of those who fabricated clothes, through the scantiness of the remainder of those earnings, so does the taxing of rent likewise diminish the fund which should be devoted to the consumption of other articles, and so diminishes the demand for labour. The parallel is complete; and it holds, whether the tax fall eventually on the occupier or the owner.

Houses are unfortunate in their relation with the national exchequer. Bricks, timber, glass, all the chief materials of houses, have been highly taxed, and the taxes have been taken off; that is, the owners of existing houses have paid for them perhaps 25 per cent. more than houses quite as large and good can now be bought for; and this not through any natural consequence of the progress of art, industry, intelligence, or morals, but by the mere waywardness of an artificial policy, without natural rule or basis. Through other changes these capricious devices may any day attack houses again, or may exempt them perchance from even equitable charges. All depends on the chance of guessing, and of who may have to guess.

Rent is not a fair index of income: it bears no uniform ratio to it. In the recent debate, Mr. Hume read to the House a statement founded on inquiry, the purpose of which was to show that, on the whole, the higher classes spend a much smaller proportion of their income in rent than the lower ones; and that, consequently, a tax proportionate to rent falls much the heaviest on those who are least able to bear it, and who are under no corresponding obligation to bear it. The statement, which seems chiefly to apply to London, may be tabulated as follows:—

If a person's income be	He usually spends in rent.	A tax of 1s. 6d. in the pound would be	And the tax would take of his income
£	£	£ s. d.	
100	20	1 10 0	1 per cent.
1,000	100	2 10 0	"
10,000	500	12 10 0	"
30,000	1000	25 0 0	"

The house-tax, then, in this view, is a bad income-tax—an income-tax graduated in the wrong direction.

This view of the subject, founded on averages, however convincing, does not show the full magnitude of the error. An average is consistent with great inequalities in the quantities from which it is deduced; and in every class great inequalities exist in the ratio between income and rent. Of this fact any person may satisfy himself who will only review the cases within his own acquaintance: he will find men of large income living in small houses or in apartments, and widows struggling for a living by means of a highly-rented house. Between these extremes are cases in every variety. Of two men with equal incomes, one has a large family, the other a small one, and the house of each is proportionate, not to his income, but to the number of his children; and so of every diversity of circumstance, pursuit, and disposition. Now, it is not only a matter of justice, but of safety, that the effect of such a tax is to be considered; for content and discontent are not regulated by averages, but by instances, and chiefly by instances of wrong. To a man who feels that he is being ruined by taxes, it is no answer

that his class are on the average but lightly burdened; his resentment and the discontent of others are kindled by the injustice of his own particular case: while, on the other hand, the man accidentally favoured by any plan of taxation, gives the Government no thanks and no support for it, to counterbalance the dissatisfaction of him who obviously suffers. Averages are convenient instruments of thought, but they are often very deceptive and dangerous bases of action.

Rent, then, is no true gauge of income. In former papers we have shown that income is no true gauge of property, while, however, property is the chief true gauge of the obligations of the individual to the State. We have here, then, two false ratios, one superimposed on the other. Rent is falsely taken as bearing a constant ratio to income, and income is falsely taken as bearing a constant ratio to property. No wonder that, in myriads of instances the result is to falsify and confuse all such relations of taxation as the common sense of men requires, and to leave on the mind of the taxpayer an indignant sense of wrong.

But why go through this double and distorting process of inference? Almost every writer on the subject begins, and rightly so, with the postulates, that taxation is payment for service rendered, and that the service rendered is mainly, though not exclusively, proportioned to property. Then why not go to the property at once? For two reasons, neither of them of any validity.

1st. It would be difficult to assess the property. And yet see the enormous difficulties and shamefully imperfect results of our present modes of assessment and taxation. Could any assessment of visible and tangible property be worse? 2nd. The taxation of property, as property, would tax much property that is not productive. Well, be it so. The question for the State is, not whether it is productive, but whether it is protected, and if so, at what cost. To seek an object like a house, which is assumed to bear a certain ratio to income, and through it to property, is merely to slide away covertly from the true question to one which sanctions an unfair distribution of the public burdens, and favours property at the expense of labour.

If, then, we reject the house-tax, let us examine its antagonist, the malt-tax, of which Mr. Disraeli proposed to abolish one-half. But, in point of principle, a reason for abolishing one-half of such a tax is a reason for abolishing it altogether; and if any excuse is to be found for keeping one-half, while the other is given up, it is in the nature of that heterogeneous, unquiet, and incoherent system which we call our system of finance. We may give up half, because we may think we can get so much from some other quarter; we may retain the other half, because we do not know how to replace it. Right and wrong, however, seems to have had nothing to do with such a question.

If everybody objects to an increased house-tax, nobody seems to wish for a reduced malt-tax; a fact which a Chancellor of the Exchequer might easily have foreseen, and with which he should have laid his account. This indifference to a diminution of the malt-tax seems to arise from three causes:—

1st. Thanks to our financial philosophy, such as it is, nobody seems certain to whom the benefit of the reduction of tax will accrue; 2ndly, The reduction, at most, would be small in its effect, nobody of authority on such a question estimating it at more than about a farthing per quart of beer; and 3dly, This small advantage would be felt by but a part of the population; all teetotallers, professed and unprofessed, and the greater part of our women and children, use, some, no malt liquor at all, and others, very little of it. But if few expected to profit by the reduction of the malt-tax, multitudes knew that they would have to pay a burdensome house-tax; and it was proved that the reduction in the price of beer and tea would, at the best, be very far from compensating the new impost. Of those who would suffer most from these changes, many were now to be taxed directly for the first time, and felt no countervailing advantage; and of those there were enough to unseat the members for many boroughs, if such should consent to the new taxation. Trade and labour refused the burden attempted to be thrown on them from the shoulders of the land.

The argument of Mr. Walpole on this subject requires examination, not so much for its own sake, as because the true facts considerably illustrate the real condition of the malt-tax question, and lead to other considerations. That gentleman asserts that, in 1750, when the duty on malt was only 6d. per bushel, the consumption was five bushels of malt per head per annum of the population; that with raising the duty the consumption fell gradually to two bushels per head per annum; and he argues, that to diminish the tax would restore the consumption, increase the demand for barley, and so benefit the farmer. Here is an inconsiderate use of the admitted principle, that dear-

ness, whether occasioned by tax or by natural cost, diminishes consumption. The comparison of 1750 with the present time is, however, incomplete, except the tax at each period be compared with the wages and profits out of which it was to be paid, and the comparative cost of articles still more indispensable than beer be also taken into account. But to say nothing of this, let us see whether other circumstances do not so account for the falling off in the consumption as to invalidate the Home Secretary's anticipation. The early part of the last century was perhaps the time, in the whole of our history, in which intemperance most prevailed amongst us. The local traditions of personal conduct at that time, which still linger in every district, agree exactly with the evidence afforded by contemporary literature and the conduct of public men, by no means excepting the clergy, in showing that the consumption of malt of five bushels per head, adduced by Mr. Walpole, was accompanied by an unscrupulous inebriety, which prevailed in almost every hall, farm-house, tradesman's home, petty ale-house, and, when practicable, every labourer's cottage in the kingdom. Less than ten years before Mr. Walpole's selected date, an attempt was made to restrain the intemperance of the populace by means of an increase of duty on licences and spirits; but the furious passion for drink broke through all restraint, and spirits were sold openly in the streets without licence or duty. The attempt was abandoned in favour of a milder mode of attack. The proposed reduction of the malt-tax must have restored the consumption which Mr. Walpole desiderates, and with it the drunkenness of that period, or it could not have benefited the farmer through an increase of demand.

But is there the same inclination now to an immoderate use of inebriating beverages? We believe not: and if not, then the defence of the diminution of the tax on Mr. Walpole's principles fails, however that measure may be defended on other principles of worthier significance and wider application.

It is worth while to glance briefly at the influences which, since the palmy or beery days of Mr. Walpole's standard consumption, have tended to diminish the credit and prevalence of intoxication. Wesley and his companions began, about 1740, that religious movement, which, joined by the re-animated religious bodies that had slept ever since the stormy days of persecution, presented at least an improved standard of decorum to the acceptance of the country. In 1760, began the reign of George III., a monarch whose personal propensities tended to countenance the coming reform. Watt, Arkwright, and Wedgwood began in 1769 the manufacturing movement, which, expanding in a few years to unexpected dimensions, required and promoted an increase of intelligence, and a soundness of character altogether inconsistent with habitual intemperance. About 1780, Raikes set up his first Sunday-school; some time afterwards, the movement for the abolition of slave trade was commenced, and the early years of the present century witnessed the establishment of the Bible Society, the Tract Society, and various missionary and educational societies. One effect of these institutions was to present to public apprehension and pursuit objects of an order altogether incompatible with the gross sensuality which had formerly prevailed. Nor ought we to forget that the vast advances we were then making in the extension and application of physical science, and in the acquisition of territorial power and commercial connexions, opened paths for the worthy occupation of that longing for action and excitement which had formerly spent itself in almost universal orgies. We need not pursue the matter to the more varied and extended movements of our own times, relating to both moral and material interests, or to special efforts to discourage intemperance, to see that a change has been effected in the entire taste and bearing of society, which is wholly at variance with Mr. Walpole's tacit but fundamental assumption, that we are again to consume five bushels of malt per head per annum. For one hundred men who habitually went to bed drunk in 1750, there are probably now not two.

The use of these facts in the present argument is to suggest that a mode of taxation which thus rests on taste and habit, is ever liable to influences which can neither be foreseen nor provided for. It is true that a reduction of the duties on coffee and sugar was followed by a large increase in the consumption of those articles; and the general conclusion to which this fact seems to lead is applied to malt. But the result does not follow. The tax operates differently in each case, for it is only one amongst several circumstances; and the adjuncts effectually balk the calculation. The malt-tax of to-day does not conform to the general course of the coffee and sugar taxes, nor does it even to that of the malt-tax of a hundred years ago. The world has changed, and the fecundity of the tax with it.

If taxes, as we now impose them, are thus changeable, and if there be no rule of right by which to determine, on the authority of justice and conscience, what is a tax that ought to content us, we can look for no termination of fiscal quarrels. A decaying tax must be replaced, and the whole empire is agitated with the attempt of every part to evade the new burden. To this turmoil, inevitable from the nature of the system, we have only to add that arising from the occasional recurrence of attempts like the present, to remove the burden from one part of the people to another, to obtain a just idea of the essential empiricism and blundering instability of our whole congeries of impost. Our present space does not permit us to extend these remarks, founded on Mr. Disraeli's variety of an English budget, to an examination of it in its essential and traditional form; but we cannot repress our conviction that, instead of its medley of principles, its deplorable failures, and its ever-returning consequences of injury and discontent, it is perfectly practicable to establish, gradually, a system at once just, scientific, permanent, adapted to all changes of circumstances, and of universal acceptance.

Mr. Disraeli's budget, whatever its faults, has afforded the practical advantage of its being a budget of transition. It has unsettled everything, and settled nothing. No strength of office can re-compress the general feeling on the subject into its old space, or force it to its old quiescence; and in spite of the notorious leaning of the elder Whigs to the worn-out traditional fiscal notions of their party, sounder and wider views will establish their influence, and modify, if not altogether change, our financial system. Party men have not yet, on this subject, received from the masses the impulse derived from a general appreciation of just and simple principles touching their own interests; and although the defeated budget had not the merit of adapting great and necessary truths to practice, we doubt not it will do much towards realizing the vaticination of its author—viz., "that direct taxation, the most important question of the day, must sooner or later press itself on all."



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE IN SCOTLAND.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—With your kind indulgence, I beg to offer but one word more upon the Scottish Sabbath question. Your correspondent "J." has favoured with notice a communication of mine on this subject which appeared in the *Leader* on the 20th ult. Knowing the value of your space, I shall, in reply, limit my remarks to one or two points only.

One important statement which I think necessary to notice refers to Glasgow—that "three-fourths of those who have sunk to the degradation described are immigrants from Ireland, who are innocent of all acquaintance with Protestant clergy, or Bibles, or Shorter Catechisms, or Sabbath observance." Now, sir, amongst this class may we not fairly look for a proportionate number in the criminal lists of Glasgow and other towns in Scotland. What are the facts? The matron of the Females' House of Refuge, Glasgow, states, in a report which is now by me—

"That, in 1848, of the 126 inmates, including 50 unfortunate women, 105 had been connected with Sabbath schools!"

Mr. Logan, of Bradford, in a letter to the *British Banner*, states—

"I visited 78 of the 88 prisoners who were tried at the Glasgow Assizes, in September, 1848. Seven of these could neither read nor write; of the remaining 71, not less

than 38 males and 24 females—total, 62—had been connected with Sabbath schools. A number of both sexes had been in attendance at Sunday schools for three, four, five, six, seven, nine, and even ten years."

But this is not all; the same report provides me with statistics, carefully drawn up, showing that teachers, in a proportion perfectly astounding, fall victims to habits of intemperance and vice.

Again, "J." states—"That Scotland, though admitted to be inferior in point of sobriety compared to France, is not therefore inferior in morality as a whole." Judge Patteson, I observe, says, with many other judges—"If it were not for this drinking, you (the jury) and I would have nothing to do." Symonds, in his work entitled, "*Arts and Artisans*," remarks that "England [including Scotland and Ireland] is the first on the black-list of crime of all the countries in Europe, and the seventh in the scale of intelligence."

With such testimony as a rule to guide us in solving this question, we can only believe one of two things—namely, that Scotch drunkenness is an exception in its moral and criminal results to drunkenness generally, or that Scotland, with its admitted inferiority in point of sobriety, is, consequently, a less moral, at least more criminal, religious country than France. I leave it, sir, with your readers to judge which it is.

Again, the system I condemn (Bible cramming and spiritual tight-lacing), "J." states, "has no connexion with either the Bible or the Shorter Catechism." Now, what I laboured to prove was, that the said system has a close and intimate connexion with the fearful amount of crime and moral evil that afflicts society. This I am prepared to substantiate. As a case of spiritual despotism, its results are precisely analogous to those produced in every country where spiritual despotism is practised. It is a vital part of a pseudo-religious conventional system, that puts human law in the place of Divine law. As Hood wittily has it—

"You say—Sir Andrew and his love of law;
And I—the Saviour with his law of love."

Did space permit, I could, I think, easily prove, as, indeed, George Coube has most satisfactorily done before me, that the intemperance and general physical and moral evil of the people of Scotland are intimately connected with a woefully defective system of moral and religious teaching. Budd, Brama, and Mahomed have even set them an example in one respect; they have banished intemperance and many of its concomitant evils from their dominions. The whole spirit of the Catechism is peculiarly Lutheran. Questions and answers on justification by faith and many other mystical doctrines are carefully committed to memory. As if to perpetuate the system of priestcraft, the real practical truth is carefully submerged. Instead of imparting a knowledge of the constitution and laws of nature, it does, in common with the whole system of religious teaching, most distinctly ignore and condemn them. You are

"Bid to balk

A Sunday walk,
And shun God's work as you should shun your own."

"Whatsoever a man sows, so shall he reap." To this trite scriptural maxim Scotland forms no exception, as has been abundantly proved, from her great moral and physical suffering, the result of neglect and violation of those natural laws which are as divine and binding as anything possibly can be in God's written word.

Yours respectfully,

A.

MR. KIRWAN'S CASE.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—There seems a great mystification going on about this case. What may happen before this appears in your journal, I know not; but it is very generally reported* that Mr. Kirwan has been condemned on evidence which was not made public. A horrible mode of murder, by means of the reputed sword-cane, has been whispered about; and it has even been said that, to avoid the publicity of so horrible and disgusting a case, details which were known were not brought before the general public.

The evidence, as published, does not satisfy any man I have heard speak of it. Now it is time, for the credit of justice, that such a report, prevalent as it is, should not be whispered, but publicly answered. If any injudicious secrecy has been attempted, it is time it should be dropped. It has done more harm than good. But surely in this age, even in Ireland, such would not be attempted.

I hope you will force this question to an issue, and not let justice be disgraced.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

A READER.

* We remember a similar report in connexion with the Tawell case; but in that trial at least there was a superfluity of evidence before the court to hang the culprit.—Ed. *Leader*.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

In the chronicles of the first half of this century, ALEXANDRE DUMAS will hold a conspicuous place, as the most inexhaustible, if not the most admirable of romance-writers. Since LOPE DE VEGA, there has been no such rapid writer. Only the other day, in writing to the *Indépendance Belge*, to excuse himself for the delay which had occurred in the execution of a promise he made to write an article on EMILE DESCHANEL, there occurs this passage, which is almost sublime in its careless indifference to so trifling an omission as that of seven volumes. "I told you, Monsieur, that I would give you a good reason for the eight months' delay which has occurred between the writing of the first and second articles on my friend DESCHANEL; and here it is: in that eight months I have written something like thirty volumes. You shake your head, and can with difficulty believe me? Let us reckon them up:—

Conscience l'Innocent	-	-	-	5	volumes.
La Comtesse de Charny	-	-	-	11	"
Le Pasteur d'Aasbourn	-	-	-	6	"
Leone Leona	-	-	-	2	"
Mémoires	-	-	-	8	"
Isaac Laquedem	-	-	-	1	"
Un Gil Blas en Californie	-	-	-	2	"
Les Dames de la Mer	-	-	-	2	"

Total - - - 37

Bon! You see it turns out that there are thirty-seven volumes instead of thirty: *j'espère que je suis beau joueur!* Only DUMAS could have written those volumes in that time, only DUMAS could have spoken of the feat in that tone of superb carelessness. "I have written something like thirty volumes, and, on reckoning, it turns out that I forgot seven—a *bagatelle!* the affair of a couple of idle mornings!"

One of the works mentioned in that list, *Isaac Laquedem*, ought to pique the curiosity of his readers in a remarkable degree, if they are to trust what he says of it, in his letter to the *Constitutionnel*: "It is the work of my whole life; *c'est l'œuvre de ma vie!* Two-and-twenty years ago, believing myself capable of writing it, I sold it to Charpentier. It was then to be in eight volumes. Two years afterwards, I bought it back again, not feeling myself equal to the task. Since that time, amidst all that I have written, at the bottom of all that I have written, and I have written 700 volumes and 50 dramas, (!!) this idea has lived within me, and the eight volumes have grown to eighteen. Although still unable to execute this work as it ought to be executed, I have, at any rate, in twenty years, studied much, learned much; all that I have learned of art, of science, of the world, and of men, I shall put into *Isaac Laquedem*: I repeat, it is the work of my life." What says the reader to that magnificent Alexandresque flourish? What are we to expect from a work which is to embrace six different civilizations, beginning with Calvary, and ending with our own day? When he promises it in eighteen volumes, we must not express much surprise if it runs to eighteen hundred. Of one thing we are certain, that no number of volumes will daunt the DUMAS readers. He is the first *raconteur* of Europe.

A somewhat different class of readers will be glad to hear that JOHN RUSKIN has completed the second volume of his *Stones of Venice*, which reproduces in the magic of a rare style, the essential forms of Venetian life. Although the "season" promises to be less active than heretofore, there are some announcements to gladden anticipation. Mrs. GASKELL's *Ruth*, and CURRIER BELL's new novel, coming out nearly together, will stimulate all kinds of curiosity, and those "comparisons" which are critical, not "odious."

In the *Dublin Mechanics' Institution*, one of the largest in the United Kingdom, there was last week a theological "demonstration" against BYRON, SHELLEY, VOLTAIRE, FRANCIS NEWMAN, ALEXANDRE DUMAS, the *Vestiges*, the *Westminster Review*, the *Leader*, and other "names of terror." We are prevented this week from treating the subject as it must be treated, but on the receipt of certain documents, we shall exhibit the morality of our accusers.

SPONTANEOUS GENERATION.

Reports made to the Directors of the London (Watford) Spring-water Company on the Results of Microscopical Examinations of the Organic Matters and Solid Contents of Water supplied from the Thames and other sources. By Edwin Lankester, M.D., and Peter Redfern, M.D.

It is well known to readers that reviewers often select a book as the mere peg whereon to hang their own garments—the text for their own discourse—the "toast" which is "an excuse" for drinking rather copious draughts of the Pierian, or other springs. We rarely avail ourselves of this privilege, but we venture to do so with respect to the Report of Drs. Lankester and Redfern, for the sake of recording in brief the results of our researches into that mysterious and long-debated subject, Spontaneous Generation. A passage in Dr. Lankester's Report, relative to the presence of entozoa in the body, will furnish us with a text:—

"It is a grave question for consideration, from whence these creatures are introduced into the body. It is almost certain that they are not generated *de novo* in

the human body, and consequently that their eggs or some form of their existence are introduced from without. From what is already known of the history of these creatures in the lower animals, it is probable they are introduced into the system with the water which is drunk. Thus it is known that the stickleback swallows the eggs of a species of Entozoa called *Bothriocephalus*, but whilst inside the fish these eggs never develop into a perfect Entozoon; but if the fish is eaten by a bird, the creature becomes perfectly developed. The Gordius or hair-worm deposits its eggs in water, but the eggs are not developed in this position; they are first swallowed by insects, and in this position the egg is hatched, produces the Gordius, which becomes impregnated, and escapes from the insect into waters where it deposits its eggs. The eggs of a species of tape-worm, when swallowed by the rat or mouse, will not produce perfect tape-worms in the inside of these creatures, but if they are eaten by the cat or dog, then the perfect tape-worm is produced. Many other instances might be quoted to show that it is not improbable that some of the forms of animal life which abound in waters containing organic matter, are transitional states of those permanent forms of animals which infest the body, and sometimes even destroy human life."

The question to be determined is not, How did these creatures get into the body? but that far more important question, Does every organic being necessarily spring from some antecedent organic being, or may it not, under certain conditions, be immediately formed from inorganic elements? Harvey's celebrated dictum of *Omne vivum ex ovo* (every living being comes from an egg) has in these later days been found untenable, even by those who oppose the notion of spontaneous generation; the various forms of generation by budding and by fission have taken from that dictum its universality, and Comte proposes in its place, *Omne vivum ex vivo* (every living being comes from a living being) as unquestionably a more accurate formula. To those who believe spontaneous generation possible, even that formula is not universal; but we are bound to add that the great forces of Authority are emphatically against the hypothesis of spontaneous generation; and Dr. Carpenter seems to consider the hypothesis unworthy of discussion. Not so we.

The ancients had very confused notions on this subject. They believed that the corruption of meat produced worms and insects. It was not until Redi, two centuries ago, instituted precise experiments to disprove this notion, that it fell into disgrace. He showed that flies deposited their eggs in putrefying meat, and that these eggs were hatched there. From that day to our own, there have been various experiments and various hypotheses on this subject, the old idea of spontaneity always re-appearing, and always meeting with formidable objections. Burmeister (*Handbuch der Entomologie*) admits the spontaneity of the acarus in ringworm. Burdach, in his *Physiology*, claims the infusoria as belonging to spontaneous generation. Duges and Lamarck think that electricity can endow certain molecular aggregations with life, and Messrs. Crosse and Weekes seem to have proved it; and O. F. Müller plainly says that infusoria are formed from inorganic molecules, "*ex moleculis brutis et quoad sensum nostrum inorganicis*;" but by far the greatest authorities on this side are Treviranus (*Biologie*) and Mulder, the first of organic chemists, whose section on this subject in his *Physiologischen Chemie* is, to our minds, decisive.

With regard to the experiments *pro* and *con*, they seem, on careful consideration, to want that decisiveness which would coerce conviction; all the experiments to *prove* spontaneous generation have admitted the agency of air, in which the seeds or spores may have been present, (even in Mr. Weekes's experiment we cannot be certain that his "precautions" were efficient,) and all the experiments to *disprove* it labour under the disadvantage of either eliminating the indispensable condition of air, or of so altering it (as in Schultze's celebrated experiment) as to give force to the objection raised in the *Vestiges*—viz., that we cannot be sure we have not set aside some other simple condition requisite for *non ex ovo* generation. To pass the oxygen through sulphuric acid, and then insist that it is the same as if it came direct from the atmosphere, with the exception of its being freed from animal admixture, is a kind of experiment no opponent of spontaneous generation would admit, if brought forward to support the hypothesis.

We sum up the result of long research in saying that hitherto no conclusive experiment has been devised either for or against; the obscurity of the subject, and the facility with which men take their suppositions for explanations, always ready with a "*May it not be, &c.*" render the experiments of little avail.

Many of the facts being disputed and others doubtful, no positive decision can be come to.

Both explanations are hypotheses, and it becomes a question, therefore, as to which of the two is the more acceptable. Religious prejudices will for a long while determine men in favour of oogenesis, because that hypothesis having been long established, has orthodoxy in its favour, although orthodoxy would be puzzled to cite a conclusive text. Let us mention some striking facts.

It has been observed that when a spring of salt-water rises at some distance from the sea, we soon notice in its neighbourhood the growth of those vegetables only found on the coast or on soils impregnated with salt. In 1843, a curious phenomenon was observed in almost all the sugar manufactories of France; the sugar presented a strange reddish appearance. On microscopic investigation, M. Payen discovered it to be a growth of *cryptogamic vegetation* in the sugar. In 1851, M. Bayvet, the sugar refiner, discovered a similar alteration, only it had not the reddish hue formerly presented. The microscope revealed it to be a growth of cryptogamic plants of a different kind from that of 1843.

We bring these forward as new facts. They are not conclusive, because the ready answer is, "*May it not be* that the spores were floating about, and only became developed on finding a suitable nidus?" Of course it may be, if generation is necessarily from spores and ova; but the necessity is here assumed to account for the fact—it is not given in the fact. We will now add what Treviranus has brought to the enlightenment of this obscure subject in the abstract given by Müller:—

"1. Infusions, with the same water, of different organic substances,—for instance, cross-seeds and rye,—give rise to different animalcules.

"2. Light has a very great influence on the process of equivocal generation. Thus, the green matter of Priestley, which is remarkable for its property of exhaling oxygen, is produced only under the influence of light; when water, particularly spring-water, is exposed to the sun in transparent vessels, whether open or close, this matter appears in the form of a greenish crust, consisting of round or elliptic granules, in which crust at first the slight motions of single molecules are discovered, and afterwards transparent threads moving irregularly. These changes have been most fully observed by Ingenhous. According to Professor R. Wagner, the green matter of Priestley consists of the remains of green animalcules, the *euglena viridis* and others, which have died. In that case the moving threads would be independent beings, distinct from the green matter, and Ingenhous would have committed the error of regarding different kinds of simple beings as different states of the same molecules.

"3. The entozoa and the spermatozoa, bodies with tails and spontaneous motions, which are seen by the microscope in the seminal fluid, even of invertebrate animals, seem to afford arguments for the spontaneous origin of living beings in organic matter.

"4. Treviranus found in his own experiments that, under circumstances otherwise similar, different organic beings, namely, infusoria or mould, are formed in different infusions; and he found that these differences did not depend on the water, but on the substances infused in it.

"5. Treviranus observed that in one and the same infusion, under different accidental conditions, different animalcules were developed; thus, from an infusion of the leaves of the iris with fresh spring-water, in a long vessel covered with linen, and exposed to the sun, infusory animalcules were generated; in another vessel, placed in another situation, the green matter of Priestley was formed. Thus also the products in the same infusion of rye with spring-water were different, when Treviranus placed a bar of iron in one of the vessels. This result seems to agree with that of Gleditsch, who found that in separate portions of melon covered with mud, and placed at different heights, the various living organic substances, namely, mould, byssus, and tremella, were produced in different proportions. To this might be added, that Grunthuisen states that he has found perfectly different animalcules in infusions of pus and mucus."

This constant variation of the result following variation of the condition, is what every sound biologist would expect to find, and is not so conclusive in favour of spontaneity as usually thought by those who cite it in support, because upon the oogenetic hypothesis it is explained as a variation in the *nidus* which permits the development of the ova.

But now attend. Dr. Burnett, of America, after showing that *parasites* of the human body confine themselves strictly to *particular regions*, as the *Pediculus capitis* always in the head, *P. vestimenti* always on the surface, *P. inguinalis* always about the groin; also states that he has found *vegetable parasites in the human ovum*! They belonged to a species of *conferva* similar to the yeast plant. They appeared by triplets or twos, and were about one 4000th of an inch in diameter. It is impossible to explain their presence as spores, for the spores would be too large to be deposited from the circulation by passing through the walls of the bloodvessels. (*American Annual of Scientific Discovery*, 1851.)

In *Canstatt's Jahres Bericht* for 1851, (vol. i.) we find that Wittich, who had observed entozoa in the hen's egg, made some experiments which proved that they might have reached their position by *endosmose*; but the known porosity of the hen's egg prevents our applying this to the human ovum.

To this may be added Dr. J. Leidy's discovery of cryptogamic plants growing from the entozoa inhabiting the small intestine; and we would especially commend Erasmus Wilson's work on *Ringworm*, as well as his paper in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1844, on the entozoa of the hair follicles; they bring very strong evidence to bear on this subject.

When we find entozoa *within* entozoa, and the entozoa only produced in certain *diseased* conditions of animal tissues, the idea of spontaneous generation cannot but recur. It is true that the old loophole of a *nidus* remains for every one to escape through; there is no preventing the old objection, "May it not be that the spores, &c.?" except by retorting, "May it not be that the generation *does* spontaneously take place?" We have certain views respecting cell-development, and the passage from the inorganic to the organic, which make spontaneous generation a true explanation of many phenomena; but as those views are not yet before the world, we must content ourselves with the discussion as we find it,—and that is eminently unsatisfactory, if we except Mulder's section.

In the *Vestiges*, great stress is laid on an argument by Dr. Allen Thomson—namely, "that the animalcules which are supposed (altogether hypothetically) to be produced by ova are afterwards found increasing their numbers, not by that mode at all, but by division of their bodies. If it be the nature of these creatures to propagate in this splitting or fissiparous manner, how could they be communicated to a vegetable infusion?" The argument is null, unless it can be shown that the animalcules do *not* come from ova, which is the point at issue. Dr. Allen Thomson will, on re-consideration, remember that this fissiparous generation is common to a class of creatures that do unequivocally spring from ova.

There is one consideration we would submit to the upholders of oogenesis, derived from a survey of the facts. We know that the parasites, whether vegetable or animal, are peculiar to certain localities, certain organs, certain conditions. The *Onopota cellaris* is found only in beer and wine, the *tania* of man is found only in man's intestine, the hydatid of the liver is found only in the liver of various mammalia, the intestinal worms appear only in the intestines, and die if removed from them; they have been observed in the intestines of the embryo (Müller); most animals have their peculiar entozoa; the *tinea* is found only in wool that has been dressed, never in undressed wool, and the *cenurus* is found only in the brain, where it produces "staggers."

Taking a survey of these facts with a view to their significance in this debate, we are led to one of three results.

1. The entozoa and vegetable parasites have been created *subsequent* to man, and for his especial disturbance—for the purpose of increasing his diseases.

2. The peculiarities we observe in the localization of these creatures are

merely peculiarities of the *nidus* in which each species is developed; the varieties in the species being the result of varieties in the *nidus*; the same egg giving birth to various creatures under different developmental conditions.

3. Spontaneous generation.

To accept the first: to say that the entozoa were made subsequent to man, subsequent to disease, subsequent to the civilization which produced beer and wine, dressed wool, and built wine cellars, would be to play havoc with all our notions of man's later appearance on this planet; while the arguers of "final causes" will be puzzled at the purpose of specially creating a *cenurus* to give sheep the staggers.

To accept the second would be as heterodox as to accept the third. For if you are to allow such immense importance to "conditions" as to admit that a change in the *nidus* will create a change in the species, you tumble headlong into the midst of the Development Hypothesis, which this hypothesis of Spontaneous Generation is brought forward to support!

For ourselves we accept both the second and third propositions just laid down, and will support our opinion with an abstract of Mulder's arguments:

It is an eternal mystery how molecules, organic and inorganic, unite to form substances—unite in different ways to form different results. It is just as great a mystery with the inorganic as with the organic; only our preconceived notions of Life make the difference. Let any man try to conceive the production of a crystal, and he will find it just as impossible as to conceive the production of a cell; a precipitate is as mysterious as a primitive fibre. The truth is, the elements of the organic kingdom, oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen, are susceptible of endless modifications of their primary forces—endless combinations—as we see in the *inorganic* kingdom. Every change, however minute, gives change of result; some of these combinations we call inorganic, others organic: words by which we designate the varieties of the forces at work. That presupposed, we find the upholders of oogenesis and spontaneous generation only differ in terms, or can, at any rate, be made to agree. If we consider an ovum as an organic molecule, or organic body made up of the four elements combined in various groups, then the dictum of Harvey, *omne vivum ex ovo*, is no doubt true. It is true also if we mean by ovum a determinate molecule: for the mites of cheese are peculiar to cheese; and certain fungi are produced only from peculiar plants. But if the term ovum be taken, as it usually is, in an erroneous and limited sense, to mean the germ of an individual organism produced by peculiar organs only—a germ in which the future animal is pre-existent—then observation will not bear us out. The individual is *not* contained in the egg; and Harvey was one of the first to show this.

The supporters of spontaneous generation meet the supporters of oogenesis, and agree with them in saying that there are certain organic molecules capable, under fitting circumstances, of evolving something new, whence individual plants and animals may finally be evolved. Why may not cheese, for instance, be an aggregation of ova, or organic molecules, from which a mite may be produced as from the ovum of an insect? It cannot be denied that the existence of spermatie animalcules proves that animals or their germs gradually growing, by merely floating in a fluid, may be secreted. The existence of entozoa points to the conclusion that they may be produced from organic molecules, as every organic globule of mucus, milk, blood, &c., is produced. As the germs of the spermatie animalcules are secreted animal germs, so may the molecules of casein be the ova of mites though they remain as casein. The one idea does not exclude the other. An ovum and an organic molecule are identical: they consist of elements which arrange themselves under various circumstances in various forms, attract other elements, incorporate them, and unite into definite compounds.

To these observations of Mulder we would fain add some more abstract considerations, did space permit. Where he suggests that cheese may be the aggregate of certain molecules, each of which is capable, under fitting conditions, of assuming an independent life and development as a mite, he is touching upon a speculation we hope some day to lay before the reader with adequate illustration. We may briefly indicate its direction by saying that, whereas every organ, as well as every animal, is composed of countless *individual cells which have lost their individuality in the association*, we have only to suppose the association destroyed, and then the cell, regaining its individuality, is developed into a higher form, instead of remaining a portion of the tissue. It is from the *association* of a multitude of cells, which, otherwise, would have independent life, that more complex animals are formed. The lowest types are cells which spontaneously divide; the next step is an association of cells; the third is a transformation of these associated cells into a tissue; so that the life becomes less and less independent in the associated cells, and more and more collective.

But as the association may at any time and in any place be destroyed, and as the development of certain cells in the liver, the brain, or the intestine may be accelerated *beyond* the normal point of hepatic, cerebral, or intestinal development, an entozoon may be produced at the expense of the tissue, or a vegetable may be produced if the development be less potent, and thus we have staggers or ringworm, tapeworms or cancer.

It may be objected, and justly, to the foregoing, that, inasmuch as we presuppose an organic tissue or *blastema* for the production of these plants and entozoa, we have not aided the cause of spontaneous generation, because the oogenetic defenders might say *omne vivum ex vivo* was their position, and spontaneous generation demands that the animal or plant be formed from the inorganic world. We think, however, that Mulder's argument settles this portion of the subject. If the organic molecule be but an *arrangement* of elements of inorganic substances, all that is needed is, that the conditions for such an arrangement—the synthesis, be present. We believe we have ascertained what these conditions are; but of that hereafter.

The world is one incessant manifestation of Life. Nature knows not the distinctions made by man, for his convenience. We, for our purposes, may separate the inorganic from the organic, as we separate the vegetable from the animal, and animals from each other, and from man; but looking

deeper, the great mystery of this world presents other aspects underlying those classifications, and we see how everything, from the lowest to the highest, moves towards Life. Death is a name we give to a change; but Nature knows no Death; what we call *dead matter*, and ignorantly despise, is only dead to our dull senses. Look where we will, we only see Life abounding, Life aspiring, Life triumphant!

A BATCH OF NEW BOOKS.

It is no easy task to keep pace with the rapid publications of the "season," even in journals specially devoted to literature; in our own restricted limits the thing is obviously impossible; and yet as our readers are kind enough to have some confidence at least in the integrity of our judgments, it is but right that they should have some such brief indication of what to buy, what to read, and what to avoid, as we can contrive for them. This is peculiarly a book-buying season, and from the mass upon our table we select a batch of very various works, addressed to very various wants. The Children's Books we will speak of next week.

Among the wants of the season are sumptuous Gift Books, appealing to the purses of godpapas, aunts, and other reminiscent relatives, and claiming a place among the elegancies and graces of a drawing-room. The season has not been so prodigal of such books as heretofore; but among those produced let a place be reserved for *The Poetry of the Year*, (George Bell,) an elegant and poetic volume, sumptuously got up with all the appliances of the engraver's, printer's, binder's various arts. It consists of passages from English and American poets, descriptive of aspects of nature and English life during the four seasons; and illustrated by twenty-two coloured engravings, from the designs of Cox, Duncan, Weir, Müller, L. E. Barker, Creswick, Hemsley, Weigall, E. V. B. Birkett Foster, Davidson, and others. The designs are of unequal merit, some having the real artistic feeling, others being conventional repetitions of forms and expressions. Birkett Foster charmingly touches off the "Spring and playtime of the year," when little villagers gather kingcups in the thick grass; and Harrison Weir, with his group of cattle and sheep in the shady summer place, carries us heart and soul into the country. Creswick gives us a glimpse of Windermere, which in itself is a poem. Hemsley rivals Hunt in—

"Little Tom and roguish Kate
Swinging on the meadow gate."

David Cox makes us young again with his "June Day." The volume is handsome to a fault; a little less costliness would have increased our comfort; at present we are so afraid of "soiling" it, that we handle it "gingerly." This applies only to the external.

A book of more substantial merit and beauty, and one which with all its splendour invites rather than intimidates, is the new edition of *Wordsworth's Greece. Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical*, (W. S. Orr and Co.,) which the publishers have rightly judged to be an excellent Gift Book. This is more than a new edition of the well-known work. It has been revised and re-arranged by the author, and is enriched—we use the stereotyped phrase with a meaning—by an introductory chapter on Greek Art, which in the space of seventy pages, illustrated with one hundred and seventy-nine engravings from vases, statues, &c., presents an historical outline of the progress of Art from its origin to its decline. Here the aid of Mr. Scharf, so well known by previous works on this subject, has been called in by the publishers most efficiently. As it now stands, *Wordsworth's Pictorial Greece* is a work of value, as well as a work of beauty; it is to be read, nay, studied, and yet it will be conspicuous among the elegancies of the table. There is a sobriety and a taste in the getting up which will make it as distinguished among its gaudy rivals, as the plain black coat of Castlereagh was at the Congress of Vienna, amidst the star-covered ministers and ambassadors of other courts.

The same publishers send us another Gift Book, of a very different kind, and addressed to a different class, *Cuvier's Animal Kingdom*, in one large volume, edited by Dr. Carpenter and J. O. Westwood. It would be difficult to name a better book to present to young men, to students, to lovers of natural history, to the whole class of readers, in short, who care for substantial excellence more than for elegance. It is not for the drawing-room, in spite of its many hundred illustrations; but for the study, where it will be a delight and a constant reference. Cuvier's *Règne Animal* acquired its popularity at once, and has never been superseded; but, of course, in so progressive a science as that of zoology, it has been necessary, from time to time, to correct and enlarge by notes the mistakes and omissions inseparable from so vast an undertaking. The way this has been done in the edition before us is admirable, and should be followed in all similar cases. Cuvier's work is translated; the original, as regards essentials, is retained; and the additions, instead of being thrown into foot-notes (always a distracting plan for the reader), is incorporated into the text, but designated by brackets, which enclose them; some of the later corrections are in brief foot-notes. The whole subject has been distributed among four zoologists—Mr. Blyth undertaking the Mammalia, Birds, and Reptiles; Mr. Robert Mudie the Fishes and Radiata; Dr. George Johnston the Mollusca; and Mr. J. O. Westwood the Insects. By their aid many of the classes and orders have been re-investigated, and many new species added. Dr. Carpenter and Mr. Westwood in this edition have gone over the work of their predecessors, and brought it down to the latest discoveries. On looking over this great Museum of Natural History, we exclaim with Marlowe's Jew—

"Infinite riches in a little room,"

and think, with a sigh, what heaps of books that have engaged our time would we have exchanged for this! What a book it would have been for our boyhood! What a treasure for our studious youth! Compared with the value of such a survey of Nature, what are Annuals and Keepsakes, Gift Books, and the rest, with their fugitive splendour of gilt and engraving? Respected Reader, if you are opening your purse for something more than ostentation, and if you want to benefit your godson, nephew, grandson, or brother, open it for a Cuvier!

Passing from the Gift Books *par excellence* to those that may be

bought, borrowed, or stolen (*ad libitum*), there is a pretty little volume of *Edgar Poe's Poetical Works* (Addey & Co.), with an editorial preface by James Hannay, and some illustrations by Wehnert, Hulme, Godwin, and Weir—good, bad, and indifferent. Of the *Essay*, in which Mr. Hannay sketches the leading traits of the poet's life and genius, we must express but a qualified opinion. It is lively as an essay, and vividly enough presents some of the main features which the reader of Poe will be called upon to consider; but the tone is questionable, and the defence attempted to be set up for Poe's drunkenness and dissipation is a violation of all ethical judgments. Poe was a man who could not restrain himself. Lord of himself and his own greedy senses he was not. Let the thing be owned; let it be judged with as little harshness as may be possible; but let no shadow of defence be set up for it on the ground that he was a poet, and a passionate worshipper of the Beautiful! If sottishness and disrespect of duties are to be reprobated in sots and scamps, they are doubly hideous in men who, having within them the refining fire of genius, are not refined—in men who, loving the Beautiful in their poems, realize the Ignoble in their lives—in men "who know the right, and yet the wrong pursue." We touch this point, we will not dwell on it. The estimate of Poe's genius formed by Mr. Hannay strikes us as exaggerated, and he is peculiarly unfortunate, we think, in calling the verses to "Helen" Horatian in their finish. Finish is scarcely the term for verses that have imperfections in metre, laxity in rhyme, and an obscurity in expression—faults which the second and third of the three stanzas possess. The volume is a curious one, and deserves its place on poetical shelves.

Professor George Long is editing a series of *Grammar School Classics* (Whittaker & Co.), which promises to be a series of considerable value. He is a ripe scholar, a man well versed in the requirements of school editions, a man of sharp, imperious, independent judgment, who has, moreover, supreme contempt for verbose annotations and critical trifling; and his edition of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, now before us, we can emphatically commend as brief, practical, careful, erudite, and adapted to its aim.

Nearly all that can be desired in the shape of a portable volume of elegant extracts is contained in the *Readings in Italian Prose Literature*, by G. Aubrey Bezzi (J. W. Parker & Son), with the biographical sketches appended to them; and we have rarely seen a more useful work of the kind than Dr. Bernays' *German Conversation Book* (J. W. Parker & Son), which consists of scenes from the German prose dramatists, accompanied by translations on the opposite columns. If it will give the beginner but a dreary idea of German comedy (true, though dreary), it will initiate him into the real language, and not mislead him, as "Conversations" usually do, by phrases and idioms never heard out of such books.

The Letters of an Englishman on Louis Napoleon (H. G. Bohn) were worthy of being reprinted, for their remarkable vigour and eloquence, no less than for the manly protest they make against the disgraceful spirit which has animated the *coup-d'état*. Speculation is busy as to the authorship of these *Letters*, and all sorts of impossible names are suggested; for the benefit of future inquirers anxious to establish the identity of the modern *Junius*, we will make one remark. The writer is either a Frenchman, or a man who has lived so long in France, and amid French ideas, that his style (otherwise so brilliant) is, so to speak, impregnated with Gallicisms. From the first letter we select these: speaking of the Republican party, he says, "France will always have to count with it," which is not English. Again, he says, "They consigned the primary teachers to absolute beggary," meaning teachers in the grammar schools—*écoles primaires*. Louis Napoleon he calls "the proscribed of the Monarchy—the recalled of the Republic; he had given, indeed, *few gages to order*;" and Napoleon's instruments, "reckless men, of as desperate fortunes as those of the Elysée itself." These, and hundreds of similar phrases, read like translations from the French; but the following is not only French in expression, it is intensely French in thought: "The logic of crime is retribution." We cannot close this hasty notice, however, without giving the reader a specimen, which may be placed beside almost any passage in *Junius*:—

"If this man's reign is destined to continue, even for a brief duration, the world will witness the most heterogeneous jumble of despotism and of demagoguery, of socialism and corruption, that history has ever chronicled. The bribery of Walpole, the theories of labour of Louis Blanc, the stock-jobbing of the worst days of Louis Philippe, the ferocity of Alva, the deportations of the Czar, the razzias of Algeria, will all meet in one marvellous system of anarchy, that will be called Imperial Government. Its great aim and object are to gag the country and to 'rig' the market; and under this patent of tranquillity and order France will be one vast military hell, with Louis Napoleon for its croupier."

GÖRGEI'S LIFE AND ACTS IN HUNGARY.

My Life and Acts in Hungary, in the Years 1848 and 1849. By Arthur Görgei. Two vols. Bogn.

A Refutation of some of the Principal Misstatements in Görgei's "Life and Acts." By George Kmety, late General in the Hungarian Army of Independence. Cash (late Gilpin).

[CONCLUDING ARTICLE.]

IN the two previous notices of Görgei's book we have traced the remarkable career of its author from Szolnok to Schwechat, from that disastrous day to the retreat upon Ofen, and from thence across the Danube to Waizen. Here we found him issuing a proclamation to his troops of a character hostile to that national government to which he owed allegiance, and setting up distinctly, under the cover of legality and patriotism, the standard of personal ambition as the basis of a military party. From Waizen we tracked him through the defiles of the mountain towns, and descending thence into the southern counties. We left him "despairing, on the threshold of a reckoning with the past," while the dashing bravery of Guyon was forcing the Branyiszko pass alone, with a mere handful of men!

At this juncture, the perception of dangers near at hand had put hope to flight in the heart of Görgei, and he stood self-reliant in despair. He

stood pondering defeat instead of organizing victory; he stood meditating treachery instead of thinking how best he could serve Hungary and live, or serve Hungary and die. While Guyon was fighting, Görgei was asking himself, with a cold-blooded egotism, whether it would not have been better, "although thousands looked up to me with firm confidence that I would not let them be destroyed," to have forborne that step which had led him so far as to prevent him from returning; whether it would not have been better to have issued "a *pacific summons to a voluntary laying down of arms*," instead of the "defying proclamations" of Waizen? And he asked himself this question, not for the first time, at Leutschau; he had asked it three months before at Presburg; when also he was speculating on the chances of making himself a dictator. And while he was reckoning with the past, his own officers were holding a *soirée dansante*, he being too much "racked with incertitude" to join them. When he was at Waizen he believed that "the contest would be a *fruitless one*"—he writes this and italicises the word; yet he resolves, probably within the range of the dance music, certainly out of the range of the enemy's cannon, that "those who looked up to me with firm confidence, that I would not allow them to perish in the desperation of fruitless efforts, DID WELL IN TRUSTING ME." The small capitals are his own. And that was the way, and those were the circumstances under which he cried "quits with the past." General Kmetz, who was stationed in position on the river Hernad close by, has a right to his bitter sarcasm, that "the perception of great dangers near at hand," instead of urging Görgei, as he says it did, to "the height of intellectual activity," should have urged him to the height of the Branyiszko pass.

Guyon's victory upset Schlick's combinations, forced him to retreat, and enabled Görgei to effect a junction with Klapka shortly after, at Kaschau, on the 10th of February, 1849. Dembinski was soon appointed commander-in-chief; Görgei's corps d'armée was absorbed into the main army; and henceforth he had to share his glories and his power with a Pole—he hated the Poles—and submit his haughty spirit to the orders of a superior. In vain. He did not submit; insisted on having his own corps separately supplied with provisions; commanded out of his place in the two days' fight at Kapolna; and when the army under Dembinski retreated on the Theiss, after a series of disasters, Görgei declined to retreat when ordered, and insisted on retreating when ordered to maintain his ground.

But there the army had no confidence in Dembinski. He was in a measure deposed by the army—Görgei declaring beforehand that he had no objection to the appointment of one of his juniors, Répasy or Klapka; a clumsy way of hinting a strong desire for the baton of command. Vetter, after much negotiation, was appointed to the coveted post; but he, unfortunately, fell sick, and the chief command was provisionally transferred to Görgei. But he who censures and ridicules the plans of others for the continuation of the war, had too much sense to think of forming one of his own. Again, the chief of the general staff of the seventh army corps devised a plan by which, executed by the skill of Aulich, the sturdy bravery of Damjanics, the coolness of Klapka, and the valour of Visocki, Kmetz, and Nagy Sandor, carried the Hungarian army to victory four times in eight days—at Hatvan, at Tapio Bickse, at Isaszeg, at Waizen. Windisch Grätz, by the 26th of April, was in full retreat for the Vienna frontier, and Komorn relieved. But here ends Hungarian successes. Görgei, for once, declined to follow the advice of the chief of his staff, and pursue the Austrians while they were demoralized by five or six victories. He followed his own inclinations. He wasted time in storming the fortress of Ofen, which could never be regained. He kept up his intrigues in the army and at Debreczin, and thought more of humbling Kossuth, dissolving the Diet at the point of the bayonet, and treating with the Austrians, not for independence, but for the constitution of 1848; than of his duties as the head of the fighting army of Hungary. The Russians were silently marching through the Dukla Pass, while Görgei was weighing and balancing the probabilities of making himself a kind of prime minister of Hungary, under the house of Hapsburg.

By the declaration of the Diet on the 14th of April, 1849, Hungary was declared independent of Austria, and the house of Hapsburg was deposed. Görgei, a servant of the nation, instead of receiving this news as became an honest man, either by accepting it, or throwing up the command, boasts that he sent back a message to the Diet by the courier who brought him the news, that "it was high time they ceased to be cowardly in adversity and insolent in prosperity." And while he privately and among his creatures entertained these opinions, the better to mask his designs he published, on the 29th of April, a stirring address to his army, attacking the Hapsburg dynasty, adopting the 14th of April, and giving the watchword of "Forward, comrades, forward!" Yet in writing an account of his conduct immediately after, he coolly tells us that political motives induced him to abandon the idea of an uninterrupted offensive! He was offered the Ministry of War, and accepted it, for the express purpose of deceiving Kossuth and the Diet, of purging the latter of those who passed the declaration of independence, and the army of those officers not devoted to him. He deliberately tells us he "overcame his moral aversion" to do this; he describes many steps in deceit consequent upon it; and being once entangled in the meshes of his own treachery, he did not escape from the net until the Russians carved an outlet for him at Villagos. From the capture of Ofen, in June, to that fatal surrender in August, Görgei, and no other, lost the cause. He was plotting when he should have been fighting, engaged in circumventing Kossuth when he should have been serving the nation; a laggard when he should pursue; and fighting fierce battles when the chance of benefiting by the victory had slipped by. Having made up his mind to destroy the Government of the 14th of April, he deceived Kossuth, deceived Klapka, deceived everybody. He led the army by circuitous routes, purposely between the Russians and Austrians, resolved to surrender to the former, and (at least he says so) to fight the latter to the last. He obtained the dictatorship from Kossuth at the last hour, made no terms with the enemy, but surrendered at discretion.

The other generals who gave themselves up were shot and hung; but

Görgei was escorted to Klagenfurth, supplied with money from the purse of Paskiewitch.

The characteristics of Arthur Görgei were not those which form a great man or save a great country. We are almost inclined to accept the sarcastic estimate of General Kmetz, who says that Görgei had the mind of a sergeant, and was amnestied with all the sergeants of the Hungarian army. He had the pedantry of a bureaucrat in the council, and the valour of a dragoon in the field, but he had not the foresight of a statesman, or the unerring judgment of a great soldier. With the pride of the Magyar he had none of the patriotism of that race; and having learned in Austria to despise representative institutions, he never regarded with any affection those of his native land. Indeed, he was ignorant of her laws, her customs, her rights—of the genius of her people and of her glorious past. He did not even know the geography of the country; and this he naively confesses himself, with the air of a man who is above it. His ambition was as boundless as his envy of other men; his capacity was scarcely above the average; his self-esteem inordinate. Throughout the whole of the period he spent in the service of his country he sought first his own glory and his own power, and through them only the glory and power of Hungary. He was not a vulgar traitor; he did not, he had not the wit to scheme the betrayal of his country, but, setting himself first and her second, he brought disgrace upon her flag, he carried chains and misery to her children, and he earned, even from his enemies, the crowning distinction of infamy. We write these words in sorrow, not in anger, for to us Arthur Görgei is as much a thing of the past as the rack and the thumb-screw.

His one redeeming quality was his impassable valour; he knew not what fear is. His one hateful defect was envy; he never revered or loved a superior man. And now at Klagenfurth, his proud heart inwardly bleeding from a wound time cannot stanch—his sense of a mighty failure—a wound which we can scarcely hope that penitence will ever heal; he lives unpitied, unfriended, unmourning, and Alone.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Preciosa. A Tale. Religion and Education in Relation to the People. By J. A. Langford. *Reading for Travellers. Magic and Witchcraft. Reminiscences of an Emigrant Mission.* 3 vols. *An Astronomical Vocabulary.* By J. R. Hind. *Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia.* By J. D. Lang.

John Chapman. John Chapman. Chapman and Hall. Richard Bentley. J. W. Parker and Son.

Bohn's Illustrated Library—Life of the Duke of Wellington. By an Old Soldier. H. G. Bohn.

Portfolia.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GORTIE.

THE HAYTHORNE PAPERS.

No. V.

GRACEFULNESS.

THE doctrine that the term Beauty is our general expression for those aspects and properties of things which habitually give us pleasurable feelings, or that our notion of beauty is a result of accumulated pleasurable experiences,—a doctrine with which, under a certain expanded form, I wholly agree,—has not, I think, been applied to that quality of form and movement which we term Grace.

There can be no doubt that the attribute to which we apply this term is some perfection in the thing possessing it,—that graceful movement is movement having some essential superiority over that which is ungraceful, and that the like is true of form. We do not see this attribute in clowns, cart-horses, tortoises and hippopotami; but we do see it in antelopes, race-horses, and human beings who have been developed under the most favourable conditions. What peculiar superiority is it, then, which we see in these more highly organized beings?

One night whilst watching a dancer, and inwardly condemning her pirouettes and *tours de force*, as barbarisms which would be hissed, were not people such cowards as always to applaud what they think it the fashion to applaud,—whilst, as I say, inwardly condemning these ungainly feats of strength, it occurred to me that the truly graceful motions which were occasionally introduced, were those performed with comparatively little effort; and, after watching awhile, and being reminded of sundry confirmatory facts, I came to the general conclusion, that, given a certain change of attitude to be gone through—a certain action to be achieved, then it is most gracefully achieved when achieved with the least expenditure of force. In other words, grace, as applied to motion, describes motion that is effected with an economy of muscular power; grace, as applied to animal forms, describes forms capable of this economy; grace, as applied to postures, describes postures that may be maintained with this economy; and grace as applied to inanimate objects, describes such as possess certain analogies to these attitudes and forms.

That this generalization, if not the whole truth, contains, at least, a large part of it, will, I think, become obvious, on considering how habitually we couple the words *easy* and *graceful*; and still more, on calling to mind some of the facts on which this association is based. A soldier, drawing himself bolt upright when his serjeant shouts "attention," is more remote from gracefulness than when he relaxes at the words "stand at ease." The *gauche* visitor, sitting stiffly on the edge of his chair, and his self-possessed host, whose limbs and body dispose themselves as convenience dictates, are contrasts as much in effort as in elegance. When standing, we commonly economise our strength by throwing our weight chiefly on one leg, which we straighten to make it serve as a column, whilst we relax the other; to

the same end, we allow the head to lean somewhat on one side. Both these attitudes are imitated in sculpture as elements of grace.

Turning from attitudes to movements, our current remarks will be found to imply the same relationship. No one praises as graceful a walk that is irregular and jerking, and so displays waste of power; no one sees any beauty in the waddle of a fat man, or the trembling steps of an invalid, in both of which effort is visible; but the style of walking we admire is moderate in velocity, perfectly rhythmical, unaccompanied by violent swinging of the arms, and giving us the perception that there is no conscious exertion, and, at the same time, that there is no force thrown away,—that there is as much muscular action used as is needful, and no more. In dancing, again, the prevailing difficulty—the proper disposal of the hands and arms, well illustrates the same truth. Those who fail in overcoming this difficulty, give the spectator the impression that their arms are a trouble to them; they are held stiffly in some meaningless attitude, at an obvious expense of power; they are checked from swinging in the direction in which they would naturally swing; or they are so moved, that, instead of helping to maintain the equilibrium, they endanger it. A good dancer, on the contrary, makes us feel that, so far from the arms being in the way, they are of great use. Each motion of them, whilst it seems naturally to result from a previous motion of the body, is turned to some advantage; we perceive that it has facilitated instead of hindered the general action; or, in other words—that an economy of effort has been achieved. Any one wishing to distinctly realize this fact, may readily do so by studying the action of the arms in walking. Let him place his arms close to his sides, and there keep them, whilst walking with some rapidity. He will immediately find himself obliged to fall into a backward and forward motion of the shoulders, of a wriggling, ungraceful character. After persevering in this for a space, until he finds, as he will do, that the action is not only ungraceful, but fatiguing, let him suddenly allow his arms to swing as usual. The wriggling of the shoulders will cease, the body will be found to move equally forward, and comparative ease will be felt. If inclined to pursue the inquiry further, he may perceive that the motion backward of each arm is simultaneous with the forward motion of the corresponding leg; and, if he will attend to his muscular sensations, he will find—what if a mathematician he will recognise as a consequence of the law, that action and re-action are equal and opposite,—that this backward movement of the arm is a counterbalance to the forward movement of the leg, and that it is easier to produce this counterbalance by moving the arm, than by contorting the body, as he otherwise must do.*

The action of the arms in walking being thus understood, it will be readily perceived that the graceful employment of them in dancing is simply a complication of the same thing; and that a good dancer is one having so acute a muscular sense as at once to feel in what direction the arms should be moved, to most readily counterbalance each successive motion of the body or legs, and to thus facilitate instead of hinder the general action.

This relationship between gracefulness and economy of force will be at once recognised by those who skate. They will remember that all their early attempts, and especially their first timid experiments in figure-skating, were alike awkward and fatiguing; and that the acquirement of skill was also the acquirement of ease. The requisite confidence, and a due command of the feet having been obtained, those twistings of the trunk and gyrations of the arms, which are previously needful to maintain the balance, are found needless; the body is allowed to follow without control the impulse given to it, the arms to swing where they will; and it is clearly felt, that the graceful way of performing any evolution is the way that costs least effort. Lookers-on can scarcely fail to see the same truth, if they look for it. Perhaps there is no case in which they may so distinctly perceive that the movements they call graceful, are those which fulfil a given end with the smallest expenditure of force.

The reference to skating suggests, that graceful motion might be defined as motion in curved lines. Certainly, straight and zig-zag movements are excluded from the conception. The sudden stoppages, the irregularities which angular movements imply, are its antithesis; for a leading element of grace is continuity, flowingness. It will be found, however, that this is merely another aspect of the same fact, and that motion in curved lines is economical motion. Given certain successive positions to be assumed by a limb, then if it be moved in a straight line to the first of these positions, suddenly arrested, and then moved in another direction straight to the second position, and so on, it is clear that at each arrest the momentum previously given to the limb must be destroyed at a certain cost of force, and a new momentum given to it at a further cost of force; whereas, if instead of arresting the limb at its first position, its motion be allowed to

continue, and a lateral force be impressed upon it to make it diverge towards the second position, a curvilinear motion is the necessary result; and by making use of the original momentum, force is economized.

If the truth of these conclusions respecting graceful movement be admitted, it cannot, I think, be doubted, that graceful form is that kind of form which we see best fitted to accomplish graceful movement. Were it otherwise, there would arise the incongruity that the two would either not be associated at all, or that the one would habitually occur in the absence of the other; both which alternatives being quite at variance with our experience, we are compelled to conclude that there exists the relationship indicated. Any one hesitating to admit this, will, I think, do so no longer on remembering that the animals which we consider graceful,—as deer, leopards, greyhounds, are those noted for fleetness and agility, and that those we class as ungraceful,—as elephants, bears, sloths, are those having the faculty of locomotion but little developed. In the case of the greyhound, especially, we see that the particular modification of the canine type, in which the facility and economy of muscular motion have been brought by habit to the greatest perfection, is the one which we call most graceful.

How trees and inanimate objects should ever come to have this epithet applied to them, will at first sight seem difficult to explain. But the fact that we commonly, and perhaps unavoidably regard all objects under a certain anthropomorphic aspect, will, I think, help us to understand it. The stiff branch of an oak-tree standing out at right angles from the trunk, gives us a vague notion of great force expended to keep it in that position; and we call it ungraceful, on the same ground that we call the holding out an arm at right angles to the body ungraceful. Conversely, the lax drooping boughs of a weeping-willow are vaguely associated with limbs in easy attitudes—attitudes requiring little effort to maintain them—and the term graceful, by which we describe these, we apply by metaphor to the willow.

I may as well here, in a few lines, venture the hypothesis, that this notion of Grace has its subjective basis in Sympathy. The same faculty which makes us shudder on seeing another in danger—which sometimes causes motion of our limbs on seeing a struggle or a fall, makes us in a vague way participate in all the muscular sensations which those around us are experiencing. When their motions are violent or awkward, we feel in a slight degree the disagreeable sensations which we should have were they our own. When they are easy, we sympathize with the pleasant sensations they imply in those exhibiting them.

PASSAGES FROM A BOY'S EPIC.

XV.

OLYMPUS.

HE ceast, but listening stood
The Princess, till the Strength of all the Worlds
His arm upraising on the paler skies,
Fronted the sea that snowed the rock-ribbed shore
With wreaths of creamy spray. A summer wind
Leaned on its breast, and whirled the watchet waves
In dimpling eddies round, till rising slow,
Through their blue depth a hollow shell appeared,
Æthelial, ample; whose serene concave
Was coloured like to fading sunset skies.
Within the shell, as in some airy bower
Built by the twilight winds of rosy dew
On the pale confines of the morn and eve,
Stood mid the graceful children of the sea,
Ambrosial Aphrodite. Many sounds
Of dulcet instruments invisible,
And birds that sang this single sunset down,
But never sang again to mortal ear,
Accompanied. But when she toucht the shore,
And the white daughters of the wandering waves
Closed round her as around the Moon the stars,
Slow sank the magic bark, amid the coil
Of waters gurgling with a flute-like sound,
Down to the silent cities of the sea.
Then to that Power celestial and his Mate
Approaching, came the Queen of all Desire,
Veiled in the glow of her own loveliness,
A finer atmosphere that round her lay,
Like light around the petals of the rose,
And thus she said: "O welcome, sister mine!
For thou art worthy of that gentle name,
That henceforth in the golden homes shalt dwell,
Of the great Gods that over trampled hopes,
Have led thee to the stary palaces,
Where thou the Queen and Mother of all life,
Shalt find thy King. Therefore o'er birth and growth,
O'er life and death, and chance and fate, preside,
And lead thou Man, while stately music calls,
Down war's red furrows, and with myrtle blend
The laurel shadowing his imperial brow,
Till fairer seasons fairer manners bring,
And rights show clear, since Love the sovran might

* A parallel fact, further elucidating this, may be seen in a locomotive engine. On looking at the driving wheel, there will be found besides the boss to which the connecting rod is attached, a corresponding mass of metal on the opposite side of the wheel, and equidistant from the centre; or, if the engine be one having inside cylinders, then on looking between the spokes of the driving-wheel, it will be seen, that against each crank is a block of iron, similar to it in size, but projecting from the axle in the reverse direction. Evidently, being placed on opposite sides of the centre of motion, each crank and its counterbalance move in opposite directions relatively to the axle, and by so doing, neutralize each other's perturbing effects, and permit a perfectly smooth rotation. Just the same relationship that exists between the motions of the counterbalance and the crank exists between the motions of the arms and legs in walking; and in the early days of railway locomotion, before these counterbalance weights were used, locomotive driving-wheels were subject to a violent oscillation, strictly analogous to that wriggling of the shoulders that arises when we walk fast without moving our arms.

Shall stand for sovran right, and rule the world ;
 And till the woman budding in the soul,
 Outgrow the savage ; and the nobler man
 Do acts heroic, to make pale the deeds
 Of men that stand up tall and beautiful
 Amid the light of swords, when danger weds
 With grace, and strength with wisdom, and beyond
 All life, Love shines a star that never sets."
 She ended, and the Father of the World
 Smote the rejoicing earth, and soon appeared
 Millions of radiant creatures, some with wings
 Æthereal, some with massive pinions stood,
 Prompt to accompany the Gods to Heaven.
 Now rose the chariot, and therein enthroned,
 The God and Goddess and their Godlike mate,
 Ascended slowly on sustaining winds.
 Meanwhile, to greet the dazzling host that streamed
 Upward and onward, through the bright'ning clouds,
 Hung gorgeous banners, drooping to the earth.
 While trumpets shook their silver scorn abroad,
 And music panted in the moaning air.
 Here wavering arms o'er rosy feet were crost,
 And here gold tresses dropt down azure gulfs
 Of summer weather. In remoter heights
 Great heads, with garlands, look thro' glitt'ring clouds,
 And calm glad faces, rising row o'er row,
 Crowded the Heaven with beauty. So convoyed
 Through the smooth air, the mighty splendour flowed,
 So reacht the stars, and now beyond the stars,
 Showed like some wondrous fleet beheld in dream,
 Sailing with ships before and ships behind,
 In infinite succession, prow and stern.
 But slowly now the Olympian gates unfold,
 For life and will were in them, leading down
 Thro' a great brightness to the sacred towers
 And golden houses, where the Gods abide
 In joy and glory ; nor ambrosia fails,
 Nor nectar for the feast ; nor for the dance
 Fails ever lyre or song : but Muse and Grace,
 Still mix their lovely shadows as they glide,
 Like breezes ruffling Heaven's transparent floor.
 Now fainter shone that far-off company,
 Entering at sapphire portals into Heaven.
 But when the last of that rejoicing host
 Stept thro' the gates, Heaven closed inaudible,
 And hid his awful beauty from the world.
 Then darkness came ; but mid the purple gloom,
 Hung on the sparkling finger of the night,
 A silver wreath, with stars for letters, told
 Of Ariadne, crowned by deathless hands,
 And one lone woman on the Cretan shore,
 Beheld and understood, and thankd the Gods.

M.

The Arts.

THE boy who was sent to Vivian's house for the "copy" expected under this head, brought back word that he was invisible ; not at home to any one. A slip of paper was handed by his servant to our boy. We print it without comment.

"Προς τους μους όπως αν εξ Ελληνικων ἀφελοιτο λογων.

VIVIAN."

FOREIGN FUNDS.			
(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)			
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cents.	74	Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	64½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	68½	Russian 4½ per Cents.	106½
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	90½	Russian, Small.	106½
Ecuador.	61	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	51
Granada, ex Dec., 1949,	23	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	24
coupon.	23	Spanish Com. Certif.	4
Granada Deferred.	12½	Coupon not funded.	4
Mexican 3 per Cents.	24	Turkish Loan, 6 per Cent.	1 pm.
Portuguese 4 p. Ct. Acct.	40½	1852	1 pm.
December 30	40½		

M. R. ALBERT SMITH'S ASCENT OF MOUNT BLANC, every Day at Three, and every Evening at Eight, during the Christmas Week, commencing Monday, 27th.—Stalls, 3s. (which can be taken from a plan at the Hall every Day, from Eleven till Four); Area, 2s.; Gallery, 1s. **EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY.**

MUSEUM OF ORNAMENTAL MANUFACTURES, DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL ART, MARLBOROUGH HOUSE. The Museum will be Open to the Public every Day, from 27th December to 6th January, but closed to Students. Catalogues, 2d. each.

W. R. DEVERELL, Secretary.

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Great Attractions for the Holidays.

On Monday, December 27, and every Evening during the Week, at Eight, to commence with the Comic, Operatic, Burlesque Extravaganza of **DON GIOVANNI**; or, **THE SPECTRE ON HORSEBACK**. After which, a Vocal and Instrumental **ETHIOPIAN ENTERTAINMENT** by the **EBONY MARIONETTES**. To conclude with a Grand Fairy Spectacular Pantomimic Version of a Popular Story in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," called, **ALI BABA**; or, **A NIGHT WITH THE FORTY THIEVES**, with Gorgeous Scenery, and entirely Novel Stage Effects.

Morning Performances on Wednesday, the 29th, and Saturday, January 1st, at Three. Doors to open Half and Hour before each Performance.

Box-Office of the Theatre open Daily, from Eleven till Five.

W. S. WOODIN'S SOIREES

COMIQUES.—Crowded houses and unprecedented source of amusement every evening at Eight o'clock, at the Royal Theatre, Adelaide-street, West Strand.—**W. S. WOODIN'S CARPET-BAG and SKETCH-BOOK**, open for public inspection, being an instructive, grotesque, comic, pictorial, musical, and eccentric entertainment, of an entirely novel nature, illustrative of the men and manners of the age. "This is one of the most amusing exhibitions of the day."—*Times*. "We have had nothing at all comparable since the time of old Charley Mathews."—*Sun*, Oct. 26. "All parental guardians must take the young folks to see Mr. Woodin in his inimitable travesties."—*Sunday Times*, Dec. 19.—Admission, 1s.; reserved seats, 2s.; stalls, 3s.; private boxes, £1 1s. Children under ten years to reserved seats, 1s. 6d.; to stalls, 2s. No half-price to balcony.

PANORAMA OF THE BERNESE ALPS.

PEOPLE who have seen as many, say, as half-a-dozen of Burford's circular pictures, are pretty well accustomed to being thrown into fits of delighted surprise, chiefly by the natural effect of the distance. If a mountain range enclose the view, they feel it is so much the better ; and if some of the peaks be snow-capped, better still. So that we may imagine a great many pairs of hands rubbed together in gleeful expectation of unprecedented wonders, when the news came out the other day that Mr. Burford had been to Switzerland, and had taken his stand on the summit of the Faulhorn ; and had looked eastward on the rocky walls of the four cantons, and westward to the Alps of Savoy ; and had made a note of Lucerne and Unterwalden, with their stern sentinels, Righi and Pilate ; and had jotted down the Finsteraarhorn and Jungfrau, and all the other peaks discernible of the Bernese Oberland ; and had taken account of the pasture-lands and pine-forests, and booked the glaciers, and checked off the lakes and villages ; and, in short, had put down, reckoned up, and brought away in the pockets of an unsuspicious-looking little sketch-book the sum total of the vast pictorial riches belonging to that divided empire of the Terrible and the Lovely.

How Mr. Burford has done this may be seen by all who will take the trouble to go as far as Leicester-square, any day between nine and dusk. Ah, that old house, standing modestly back in a corner of the square!—Is it possible we should ever enter at its low, wide portal, and dive into its dusky length of passage, and not be mindful of a time when "Burford's" was to us what nothing can ever be again—a happy dream, to come true regularly twice a year? Are there not hundreds who love the place, as we do, for its pleasant memories of such a time, not less than of later holidays passed amid the actual scenery represented? And there is this great thing to be said for the panoramas ; that, in considering how much of their former interest was objective, and how much subjective—what proportion was due to the artist's skill, and what to the ingenuous freshness of the boy—the paintings, as paintings, must gain rather than lose place in our estimation. Thus, at no time could we have been more thoroughly impressed with the truthfulness of Mr. Burford's pencil than we were the other day in looking at the Bernese Alps. What was it that we saw, standing on the awful Faulhorn, eight thousand feet above the level of Leicester-square? Listen.

At first the eye wanders round in that endless confusion of upspringing forms, and soon gets wearied with trying to measure objects and distances without some standard to go by. So, for a time, it will be as well if we take a narrower range, and gradually accustom our sight to the vastness beyond. The very mountain on which we stand includes a pretty tolerable field of objects for a Londoner to begin with. The inn! where they make up some thirty beds for travellers, at an elevation six hundred feet above the Hospice of St. Bernard!—from July to October, that is to say, for the severity of the storms during the remaining eight months of the year compels the entire abandonment of the dwelling. Glimpses may be caught of the path which ascends over the Buch Alp from Grindelwald, as well as of the more dangerous track, passing the waterfall of the Griesbach above the lake of Brienz. We are now looking away from the little inn ; and there, below, is the lake just mentioned, from the margin of which this same Faulhorn abruptly springs. The lake appears in two places, and there again—no, that is another and a smaller lake, the name of which we don't remember. On the opposite bank of the Brienz lake is the town of Brienz—a real town, with a church, parsonage, and two or three inns. We count several of these little wooden villages, standing among forests of cherry-trees, in a district everywhere blessed for the excellence of its kirch-wasser. And now we can venture to look abroad without so much fear of getting confounded by the number and magnitude of the peaks. As we turn eastward these rise higher and higher, the terrible Shreikhorn topping all. Next it is the Finsteraarhorn, and then come the Eiger, the Mönch, and the Jungfrau. There is little else than a jagged chain of snow-covered peaks on this side the picture, where the distant lakes of Zug and Lucerne show as mere strips. Indeed, the whole view is deficient in lake and river scenery, what little there is being at the western base of our mountain. We look that way again, at the sunset, which is so natural as to account at once in our mind for the shadows which are really gathering below, and which deepen faster as we look. So we look no more, but, pulling greatcoat and comforter close about our ears, descend into Cranbourn-street. Q.

SOCIETY of the FRIENDS of ITALY.

THE SECOND EVENING MEETING of the SEASON will be held at the Music Hall, Store Street, Bedford Square, on the evening of Wednesday next, the 29th December. The Chair will be taken by P. A. TAYLOR, Esq., at Eight p.m. precisely. JOSEPH MAZZINI will be present. DOUGLAS JERROLD, Esq., and other members of the Council, will address the meeting. Cards of admission for members, 1s. each, and for strangers, 1s. 6d. each, may be obtained at the Office of the Society, 10, Southampton Street, Strand, or at the Music Hall, on or before the Evening of Meeting.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BANKING COMPANY.

Incorporated by Royal Charter.

The Court of Directors grant Letters of Credit and Bills at 30 days' sight upon the Company's Bank, at Adelaide. The exchange on sums above £10, is now at a premium or charge of two per cent. Approved drafts on South Australia negotiated and bills collected.

Apply at the Company's Offices, No. 54, Old Broad Street, London.

WILLIAM PURDY, Manager.

London, December, 1852.

CAWSON HILL MINING COMPANY.

Shareholders in this undertaking are referred to the *Leader* of the 27th November for a full report of the First General Meeting.

Persons desirous of becoming Subscribers can obtain a prospectus and fullest particulars upon application personal, or by post, to the Purser, at the offices of the Company, No. 3, Crown Court, Threadneedle Street, City.

THE ALBION GOLD MINING Company,

For working the Gold Mines on BURNS' CREEK, and the Quartz Gold Veins, under a Conveyance in Fee-simple of 1000 acres, near QUARTZBURG, MARIPOSA, CALIFORNIA.

CAPITAL £100,000.

In 100,000 Shares of 1l. each, to be paid up in full without further liability. On the Cost Book System, requiring no Deed of Settlement. Neither the Directors nor any Co-Adventurers will have power to contract debts to bind this Company in California, there being a law against it in that State.

TRUSTEES.

The Marquess of Donegall, G.C.H., and P.C.
Sir Robert Price, Bart., M.P.

DIRECTORS.

Sir Robert Price, Bart., M.P., Foxley Park, Herefordshire, and Stratton Street, Piccadilly: Chairman.
The Most Hon. the Marquess of Donegall, G.C.H., and P.C., (Lord Lieutenant of the County of Antrim), Ormeau Park, Antrim, and 6, Portland Place.
Sir John Villiers Shelley, Bart., M.P., Marefield Park, Sussex, and Albemarle Street.
Serjeant Francis S. Murphy, M.P., 3, Serjeant's Inn.
Richard Swift, Esq., M.P., (late Sheriff of London), West Hill House, Wandsworth.
Matthew Crawford, Esq., B.A.L., Middle Temple, and Haverstock Hill, Hampstead.
Henry W. Wood, Esq., Briton Ferry, Glamorganshire.

BANKERS.

Messrs. Price, Marryat, and Co., 3, King William Street, City.
Messrs. Cocks, Biddulph, and Co., 43, Charing Cross.

STOCK BROKERS.

Messrs. Carden and Whitehead, 2, Royal Exchange Buildings.

CONSULTING MINING ENGINEER.

David T. Anted, Esq., F.R.S., and F.G.S., Professor of Geology, King's College.

SECRETARY: George Jackson, Esq.

OFFICES: 3, Cophthall Buildings, Bank.

This Company proposes to take possession (under a conveyance in fee), of One Thousand Acres of Land upon the Freehold Estate of Alfred Clapp, Esq., in the County of Mariposa, California, and to work on the Cost Book System, the Gold Mines thereon. Situated in the richest part of that famous region, the Burns' Creek, range of Gold deposits stands unrivalled in the land of unlimited riches. Through the centre of this estate, consisting of upwards of 2000 acres, from south-west to north-west, a ridge of hills, the great basis of which is the gold-bearing quartz rock, discloses to the observer at intervals, veins of rich ore, cropping out at the hill sides in manifest splendour. From the bed and banks of the clear stream, called Burns' Creek, which (in summer unfailing and in winter unfrozen) flows through the estate at the base of these hills, it is known by miners of that locality that nearly a million and a half sterling of fine gold has been taken in the last two years, and the Placer Gold Diggings of that stream are ascertained to be but the washings of ages from the masses of gold-bearing quartz above. To blast these rocks, to sink shafts, pursue the horizontal veins, crush the rich ore by powerful steam-engines, and extract and remit the Gold, is the great object of this Company. For such purposes the most improved machinery must be purchased, transmitted, and fixed; skilful miners, quarrymen, and engineers engaged; stores furnished for their support, and dwellings erected for their habitation. To command these things and success, large capital and skilful direction is required, and in the formation of this Company, those leading objects will be attained. Situated in latitude north about 37½, with the climate of Italy, and with the woods and natural pastures abounding in cattle, deer, and other large game, eight miles from the Gold Mines and Quartz-crushing Works of the Nouveau Monde Company, and between the Merced and Mariposa Rivers, steam-power has placed this splendid mining property within six weeks' journey of London, and (excepting only about 25 miles not yet sailed, on the Isthmus of Panama) railways and first-class mail-steamers convey the traveller, and treasure, with the safety, punctuality, and speed of the iron train, between London, San Francisco, and Stockton, on the San Joaquin River, whence a good road runs through this estate, 70 miles from Stockton, to the county town of Mariposa, twenty miles distant. From the Burns' Creek, one piece of pure gold was taken, weighing 17 pounds, and was sold for 750l. This fact is vouched by an eminent geologist, Dr. Charles F. Spieker, of New York, who in his Report of a survey made in 1850, on the spot, writes thus:—

"The most important feature in the geology of this district, however, which gives it such great value for mining purposes, is the existence here in the diorite formation, of such an astonishing number of veins of quartz, for nowhere in the auriferous districts of California have I seen such quantities of quartz veins accumulated within an area of such comparatively small extent. Nearly every one of the hills and ridges above described contains the outcropping of a quartz vein sometimes of very large dimensions." And again, "On my examining them in reference to the proportion of gold they contained in comparison with other veins which I had seen in California, I found them to be of the best and richest kind which had come under my observation there. One of these veins was distinguished by great quantities of cellular quartz, which inclosed a very large amount of native gold in small particles, presenting altogether some of the most beautiful and richest specimens of that kind of auriferous quartz found in California."—(See Report.)

Average specimens of the gold quartz brought by the proprietor from the veins transferred to this Company, have been submitted to smelting and assay at the Bank of England, and the great result is shown in the following

BULLION OFFICE CERTIFICATES:

"I hereby certify that four lbs. troy of quartz rock, from the estate of Alfred Clapp, Esq., in Mariposa, California, placed in my hands by Mr. Alfred Clapp, and Mr. Henry W. Wood, for melting and assaying, yielded 1 ounce and 9 pennyweights of gold; the Assayer's report of which is worse than standard 2 car. 1½ grs., silver 39½ dwts. per lb. troy, value 5l. 1s. 3d."

"STEWART PITKLEY,

"For Haggard and Pitkley, Sworn Brokers, 8, Cophthall Court, 13th September, 1852."

"I certify that the lump of gold, weighing 29 pennyweights melted from 4 lbs. of quartz rock, belonging to Alfred Clapp, Esq., has been assayed, and the report thereon is worse than standard 2 car. 1½ grs., silver 39½ dwts. per lb. troy."

"W. D. HAGGARD,

"Chief Clerk, Bullion Office, Bank of England, 13th September, 1852."

"Sold for Alfred Clapp, Esq., Californian gold, extracted from 4 lbs. quartz rock, 1 oz. 9 dwts., worse 2 car. 1½ grs., silver 39½ dwts., 20 dwts. allowed for refining, 19½ dwts. per lb."

WATCHES! WATCHES! WATCHES!

Save 50 per Cent. by purchasing your Watches direct from the Manufacturer, at the Wholesale Trade Price.

Warranted Gold Watches, extra jewelled, with all the recent improvements £3 15 0
The same Movements in Silver Cases 2 0 0
Handsome Morocco Cases for same 0 2 0
Every other description of Watch in the same proportion.

Sent Free to any part of the Kingdom upon receipt of One Shilling Extra.

Duplex and other Watches practically Repaired and put in order, at the Trade Prices, at

DANIEL ELLIOTT HEDGER'S WHOLESALE WATCH MANUFACTORY,

27, CITY ROAD, near Finsbury Square, London.

* * Merchants, Captains, and the Trade supplied in any quantities on very favourable terms.

1 oz. 5 dwts. 22 grs. standard at 77½. 9d. per oz. £5 0 0
2 dwts. silver at 60½d. 0 6 6
Crushing and Melting 5s.
Assay 4s. 0 0 0
"HAGGARD and PITKLEY,"
"London, 13th September, 1852."

By these certificates it is seen that from 45 ounces of the quartz rock, when melted, crushed, and washed, one ounce and nine pennyweights of gold, value 5l. 1s. 3d. sterling was obtained, and this under the immediate sanction of Mr. Haggard, and personal inspection of Mr. Pitkley and Mr. Wood, at the Smelting Works in Wood Street, employed by the Bank of England. At this rate of yield one ton of the quartz rock would produce gold, value 3400l. and upwards; but assuming that instead of this result (viz., 1l. 5s. 3½d. per lb.) an average of only one shilling per pound troy was produced, as thirty tons per day can be readily separated, crushed, and washed at these Mines, and the yield of gold would be, at that rate, 132l. per ton, which multiplied by thirty, gives 4000l., as the result of each day's working, being 24,480l. per week of six days, above 100,000l. per calendar month would be the gross produce.

Estimating, therefore, the average yield of gold from these hills, rocks, and placers, as only sixpence to the pound weight of quartz, an income of six hundred thousand pounds per annum will be afforded—enough, after allowing amply for all expenses, to repay the capital five times in one year's actual working! A late authentic paper, (republished in the Times, of September 14th, from Hussey and Co.'s Circular, of San Francisco, July 30th, 1852), shows the gross product of Californian gold, from the official reports, to be in the first six months, 1852, to the 1st July, 33,847,774 dollars, or about seven millions sterling, and this when the development of the rock gold is but commencing.

It is not the desire of the Directors upon such data, to excite exalted hopes of delusive profits, but they feel the highest confidence that this undertaking, vigorously and honestly conducted, must quickly produce enormous returns to the Shareholders in the Albion Gold Mines. The Directors have entered into a contract with the proprietor of the Burns' Rancho E-tate, which entitles the Company to enter immediately upon possession of one thousand acres, free of royalty or reservation, on which four openings have already been made in the gold-bearing veins, and splendid specimens extracted. The terms of this purchase are most liberal on the part of the proprietor, who, excepting a very small proportion, takes the whole consideration, of a third interest (chiefly in shares), to be delivered at periods subsequent to possession and working by the Company. No Director or Subscriber to this Company will be liable beyond the amount of his Shares subscribed for.

The title to this property is undisputed, and possession held continually by the Resident Agents of the proprietor occupying the Estate from February, 1851, to the present time. (See Report.)

Specimens of the quartz rock may be seen at the Offices of the Company, as taken from the vein by the proprietor, which is inexhaustible; and it is a remarkable characteristic of the vast wealth of this Estate, that the gold-bearing veins, though but three feet wide near the surface, run through the whole property, and in depth are richer in descending, and without any known termination.

Extract from the affidavit of JOSEPH TAYLOR.

"My residence is at present in the State of California; I am temporarily in the city of New York, but expect to return to California; I have been a resident of California from eleven months to two years, and am well acquainted with California, and with all parts of it, with the mining districts and all other districts, probably as much acquainted as any other man whose official duties did not require him to travel through the country more extensively than myself. I have been in the southern mines; I know that the richest among the quartz veins are in the southern mines. I know Burns' Rancho by reputation, and have been upon it, and it is generally acknowledged to be exceedingly rich. I have seen specimens taken from it which are exceedingly rich. It is situated about seventy miles south-east of Stockton, between the Merced and Mariposa Rivers. The road leading to it is the main road leading to Mariposa. It is in Mariposa County. Heavy machinery is carried over this road into all parts of Mariposa County."—(Signed) JOSEPH TAYLOR. Sworn before me this 5th day of March, 1852, (Signed) JOHN W. NELSON, U. S. Commissioner.

New York, March 10, 1852.
I have been acquainted with Mr. JOSEPH TAYLOR for some years past, and from my acquaintance with him, and my knowledge of his standing in this city, can say that he is a gentleman of the highest respectability, and any statements made by him would be entitled to the fullest confidence and credit.—(Signed) R. J. THORNE, Pres. Protection Fire Insurance Co., 58, Wall Street. JOSEPH WALKER, Pres. Mercantile Mutual Insurance Co., 63, Wall Street. JAS. M. BROWN, Firm of Brown, Brothers, and Co., 59, Wall Street.

Richmond Hill, Nov. 3, 1852.
We have no doubt in our offices of the signature "JAS. M. BROWN" being that of one of our junior partners.—(Signed) WILLIAM BROWN, M.P. for South Lancashire.—Firm, Brown, Shipley, and Co., Liverpool American Merchants.
Applications for Shares may be made in the usual form to the Secretary, at the Company's Offices, or through the Brokers.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES.

To the Directors of the Albion Gold Mining Company, Gentlemen,—I request you will allot me Shares of one pound sterling each in the above undertaking, the whole of which, or any less number that may be allotted to me, I hereby agree to accept, and when required, to pay the Amount thereon, and subscribe the Cost Book of the Company. I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

Date
Name
Address
Reference

THE SIX-DAYS CAB & CONVEYANCE COMPANY.

Offices—15, DUKE STREET CHAMBERS, ADELPHI.

Provisionally Registered pursuant to Act of Parliament, for supplying the Public with CABS at FOURPENCE per MILE, and Brougham, Clarence, and all other Carriages, at a much reduced rate.

Principal Stables, Adelphi.

In 15,000 Shares of £1 each, with power to increase the Capital to £80,000. Deposit, 5s. per Share.

DIRECTORS.

Trevetham Thomas Spicer, Esq., L.L.D., 4, Gray's Inn Square.
Frederick J. Sewell, Esq., Eccleston Street South, Eaton Square.
William Barrett, Esq., Doctors' Commons, and The Lawn, South Lambeth.
Thomas B. Loader, Esq., Civil Engineer, 14, New Church Street, Edgeware Road, and Princess Street, Stamford Street.
Charles Henry Price, Esq., Crescent, Avenue Road, Old Kent Road.
Captain Montague, Wandsworth Road, Surrey.

SOLICITOR.

Grantham Robert Dodd, Esq., F.L.S., 26, New Broad St., City.
Mr. Henry Spicer. (Manager.)
Mr. S. Watkins Evans. (Secretary.)

Notwithstanding the existence of several Cab Companies, it is admitted, on all hands, that there is ample room for another. The Directors on that account have determined upon starting the Six Days Cab Company, to run at reduced fares and to abolish all Sunday traffic.

The degree of success that has attended similar Associations proves that there is very little speculation in the objects of this Company.

The following are among the advantages which this Company presents:—

1st.—To have first-rate Horses and Carriages, the latter to be provided with improved Indicators, by which it will be at once seen the distance travelled.

2nd.—To abolish the Insult and Extortion now too prevalent, by employing men of known respectability of character, who will be provided with Livery Coats and Hats, and paid a regular weekly salary.

3rd.—To afford their Servants the opportunity of moral and religious instruction, by entirely abolishing all Sunday Work, thereby constituting this, what the Title imports—viz., a Six-Day Conveyance Company.

4th.—To bring the luxury of Cabriolet riding within the reach of all classes by reducing the Fares to (only 6d. of the present legal charge) 4d. per mile, which, by the calculations subjoined, are clearly shown to be both possible and profitable.

The following statement is submitted to the Public for consideration. It is calculated that each £1000 will purchase 10 Cabs, 20 Horses, and Harness complete.

RECEIPTS.

Weekly Income derived from each £1000 capital each horse travelling 25 miles per diem, for 6 days, at 4d. per mile, 8s. 4d.
20 horses at £8 6s. 8d. per diem or per week £30 0 0
Deduct Expenditure 33 10 0

Gross Weekly Profit £16 10 0 or £868 per annum.

PAYMENTS.

Keep for 20 Horses £13 0 0
Ten Drivers 10 0 0
Duty on 10 Cabs 5 0 0
Wear and tear 6 0 0
£33 10 0

After allowing a deduction of 25 per cent. from the above for expenses of Management, together with all miscellaneous and contingent outgoings, there will be left a profit of Sixty per Cent. per annum.

Applications for Shares, &c., in the usual form, to be made to Mr. Evans, at the offices of the Company, 15, Duke Street, Adelphi.

AWARDED A PRIZE MEDAL UNDER

CLASS XIX.—TO THE CARPET TRADE.—ROYAL VICTORIA FELT CARPETING.—THE PATENT WOOLLEN CLOTH COMPANY beg to inform the trade that their new patterns in CARPETS and TABLE COVERS for the present season are now out, and will be found far superior to any they have hitherto produced, both in style and variety. The Public can be supplied at all respectable Carpet Houses in London and the country. The Company deem it necessary to caution the Public against parties who are selling an inferior description of goods as felted carpets, which will not bear comparison with their manufacture, either in style or durability; and that the genuineness of the goods can always be tested by purchasers, as the Company's carpets are all stamped at both ends of the piece, "ROYAL VICTORIA CARPETING, LONDON," with the royal arms in the centre. The Company's manufactories are at Elmwood Mills, Leeds, and Borough-road, London. Wholesale Warehouse, at 8, Love-lane, Wood-street, Cheap-side.

THE BEST MATTING AND MATS OF

COCOA-NUT FIBRE.—The Jury of Class XXVIII. Great Exhibition, awarded the Prize Medal to T. TRELOAR, at whose warehouse (42, Ludgate Hill) purchasers will find an assortment of Cocoa-Nut Fibre manufactures, unequalled for variety and excellence at the most moderate prices. Catalogues free by post. T. Treloar, Cocoa-Nut Fibre Manufacturer, 42, Ludgate Hill, London.

THE PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY

Book Passengers and receive Goods and Parcels for MALTA, EGYPT, INDIA, and CHINA, by their Steamers leaving Southampton on the 20th of every Month.

The Company's Steamers also start for MALTA and CONSTANTINOPLE on the 20th, and VIGO, OPORTO, LISBON, CADIZ, and GIBRALTAR, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the Month.

For further information apply at the Company's Offices, 132, Leadenhall Street, London; and Oriental Place, Southampton.

LAMPS of ALL SORTS and PATTERNS.

The largest, as well as the choicest, assortment in existence of PALMER'S MAGNUM and other LAMPS, CAMPHINE, ARGAND, SOLAR, and MODERATEUR LAMPS, with all the latest improvements, and of the newest and most recherche patterns, in ormolu, Bohemian, and plain glass, or papier maché, is at WILLIAM S. BURTON'S, and they are arranged in one large room, so that the patterns, sizes, and sorts can be instantly selected.

PALMER'S CANDLES, 7½d. a pound. Palmer's Patent Candles, all marked "Palmer."

Single or double wicks..... 7½d. per pound.
Mid. size, 3 wicks..... 8½d. ditto.
Magnums, 3 or 4 wicks..... 9½d. ditto.
English's Patent Camphine, in sealed cans, 4s. per gallon.
Best French Colza Oil, 4s. per gallon.

DISH COVERS and HOT-WATER

DISHES in every material, in great variety, and of the newest and most recherche patterns. Tin Dish Covers, 6s. the set of six; Block Tin, 11s. 6d. to 25s. the set of six; elegant modern patterns, 30s. to 53s. the set; Britannia Metal, with or without silver-plated handles, 69s. to 102s. the set; Sheffield plated, £10 to £16 10s. the set; Block Tin Hot-water Dishes, with wells for gravy, 11s. to 25s.; Britannia Metal, 32s. to 63s.; Sheffield plated, full size, £9 10s.

THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE for SILVER. THE REAL NICKEL SILVER, introduced 20 years ago by WILLIAM S. BURTON, when plated by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co., is beyond all comparison the very best article next to sterling silver that can be employed as such, either usefully or ornamentally, as by no possible test can it be distinguished from real silver.

	Fiddle Pattern.	Thread or Brunswick Pattern.	King's Pattern.
Tea Spoons, per dozen	18s.	23s.	30s.
Dessert Forks "	30s.	42s.	58s.
Dessert Spoons "	30s.	42s.	58s.
Table Forks "	40s.	55s.	70s.
Table Spoons "	40s.	55s.	70s.

Tea and Coffee Sets, Waiters, Candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process.

CHEMICALLY PURE NICKEL, NOT PLATED.

	Fiddle.	Thread.	King's.
Table Spoons and Forks, full size, per dozen	12s.	28s.	30s.
Dessert ditto ditto	10s.	21s.	25s.
Tea ditto	8s.	11s.	12s.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has TEN LARGE SHOW-ROOMS (all communicating), exclusive of the Shop, devoted solely to the sale of GENERAL FURNISHING IRON-MONGERY (including cutlery, nickel silver, plated, and japanned wares, iron and brass bedsteads), so arranged and classified that purchasers may easily and at once make their selections.

Catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-st.); Nos. 1 & 2, NEWMAN-STREET; and 4 & 5, PERRY'S-PLACE.

BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. CONSUMERS' PROTECTION AGENCY.

FRENCHURCH CHAMBERS, 159, FRENCHURCH STREET, CITY.

Objects of the Board of Supply and Demand:—

To undertake the execution, on behalf of the public, of any orders for any articles of trade;
To secure the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of articles ordered;

To establish and maintain, upon an extensive scale, warehouses for receiving and testing the articles for consumption;
To recommend to the clients of the Board the tradesmen, contractors, working men, and various persons whose services may be required;

To settle accounts and make payments on behalf of the customers or clients, &c. &c. &c.

Advantages secured to customers dealing with the Board:—

An easy, safe, inexpensive mode of transmitting their orders;
All and every security, that the existing state of civilization, and the concentrated power of capital, labour, machinery, skill and experience can afford, as to the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of the articles ordered;

An efficient responsibility in case of damage and defect;

Simplification of household accounts;

All articles charged according to a list of fixed prices, settled between the merchants and the Board: all such lists published and forwarded, from time to time.

Reduction of prices, and great saving by the suppression of all the costly experiments that consumers have to bear from their not being acquainted with proper places of supply, and with well-controlled merchants;

Facility for credits applicable to the whole of their consumption, and bearing upon the whole of their income, whatever may be the terms of receiving the said income, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly.

IMMEDIATE BUSINESS TRANSACTED BY THE FIRM OF J. L. ST. ANDRÉ.

While preparing the more perfect organisation of a BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND, the undersigned firm is now ready to execute orders, to any amount not under £5, in one or various articles. The arrangements for the retail trade will be soon completed, but until then, orders under £5 must be declined.

General Manager—JULES LECHEVALIER ST. ANDRÉ.

Business transacted under the firm of J. L. ST. ANDRÉ. AGENTS WANTED. Applications from the country must be accompanied with unexceptionable references in London.

*. No ORDERS EXECUTED ON SATURDAYS.

FURTHER PARTICULARS TO BE HAD by applying to the above address, or by forwarding two postage stamps.

BANKS OF DEPOSIT AND SAVINGS BANKS.

INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL AND SAVINGS.

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12	0 0 7	0 1 11	0 1 3	0 1 6
15	0 0 8	0 1 11	0 1 3	0 1 7
18	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 9
20	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 10
22	0 0 10	0 1 2	0 1 7	0 1 11
25	0 0 10	0 1 3	0 1 8	0 2 1
26	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 9	0 2 2
28	0 0 11	0 1 5	0 1 10	0 2 3
30	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 1 11	0 2 5
32	0 1 0	0 1 6	0 2 0	0 2 6
35	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 2 2	0 2 9
37	0 1 2	0 1 9	0 2 4	0 2 11
40	0 1 3	0 1 11	0 2 6	0 3 2
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